

## George Washington Papers, Series 2, Letterbooks 1754-1799

**To MAJOR ANDREW LEWIS**

Winchester, December 27, 1755.

In pursuance of Commands from the Governor to me, you are hereby ordered to proceed to Augusta, and there to take upon you the command of Captain Hogg's Company; three Companies of Rangers, and such Cherokee Indians as you shall find there; and march them to such place or places, and obey such order or orders, as the Governor shall direct.

**To CAPTAIN PETER HOGG**

Winchester, December 27, 1755.

I wrote you fully the 28th. ultimo; since when I have only received two returns; one of the twenty-sixth, the other of the twenty-ninth of November; by which I find you still want men to complete your Company. The present allowance for Recruiting is two Pistoles per man, and eight pence per day subsistence, from the time of their attestation, until they are received at Quarters; and no men are allowed for, but those who shall be actually reviewed and passed.

Lieutenant McNeil<sup>61</sup> received two hundred pounds from the Commissary to pay for your Provisions &c. which I expect will be very punctually accounted for. As to your mens complaints about the stoppages &c. they are groundless and unnecessary; it is the custom of the army; and what the Soldiers here submit to with chearfulness.

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61. Lieut. John McNeill.

I think it will be advisable to detain both Mulatto's and negroes in your Company; and employ them as Pioneers or Hatchet-men.

You will receive by this conveyance the late Act of Assembly against Mutiny and Desertion; and you are to have the Deserters punished accordingly.

Major Lewis, who is ordered there to take upon him the command of three Companies of Rangers, which are to be joined by your Company and the Cherokee Indians, for certain purposes; will give you his advice and assistance in this affair.

I never received any Letter even mentioning of John Johnston, but that of the 29th. of November, speaking of him among other Deserters.

By Major Lewis you will receive an hundred and fifty-seven pounds, thirteen and three pence, pay for your Company for the months of December and January. And he will also settle with them and pay off their arrears. The money that he brings will be more than sufficient for two months pay; so that you are to keep regular pay-rolls, and transmit to me or the pay-master, regular accompts. of your disbursements, signed by yourself and Officers, and Receipts from each non-commissioned Officer and Soldier for their months pay. Another receipt you are always to keep yourself, regularly entered into a Book for that purpose.

You must also transmit to the Com

missary an accompt. of money expended for Provisions, &c. signed as above. These Directions I received from below. The Governor complains of your laying in provisions for twenty months, instead of the twelve, which I ordered; and takes notice of an extraordinary charge of ten pounds, for a Trough, which amazes me: the like sure was never heard of.

If the Carpenters are kept closely to their work, you may allow them one Shilling per day, besides their soldiers pay; but you are to be cautious how they are employed; and not throw away the Countrys money idly: neither are they to receive extraordinary pay for any work, which shall be deemed soldiers duty. As to Smiths work, you can not have a great deal to do; therefore agree upon the most reasonable terms. If you have not got the Tools from Fredericksburgh, you must try to get them made in Augusta; or purchase from the Country people, if they are to be had.

You will let Ensign Fleming know that Captain Bell will be with him in a few days to settle his accompt. for Recruiting; when that is done, he will receive the arrears of his pay.

I am sorry to find Mr. Chew still dissatisfied for his Servant; and did not expect such Behaviour from an Officer. I hope therefore you will make him immediate restitution, or expect to answer it in a more disagreeable way. I am, &c.

P.S. I have sent you General Recruiting Instructions, which you are to observe, when you want men to complete your Company.

**To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN**

Winchester, December 28, 1755.

Sir: Captain John Mercer only returned last night from Williamsburg; and brings no satisfactory answers to any thing I question'd the Governor upon. The express that was sent to Genl. Shirley, is returned without seeing him: however, the Governor writes that he expects answers to his Letters by Colo. Hunter,<sup>62</sup> who is now at New York, and waits the arrival of the Genl. at that place.

The Governor is very strongly of opinion that Captn. Dagworthy<sup>63</sup> has no right to contend the Command; and in his Letter he says, after mentioning the return of the express, and his expectancy of satisfactory Letters, "but I am of opinion you might have obviated the inconsistent dispute with Captn. Dagworthy, by asking him if he did not command a Provin'l Company and by virtue of Gov. Sharpe's Comn. as that he had formerly from his Majesty *now* ceases, as he is not on the half-pay list; if so, the method you are to take is very obvious, as your Commission from me is greater than what he has," and in Williamsburg when I was down there, both he and Colo. Fitzhugh told me, that Dagworthy cou'd have no more pretensions to Command me or either of the Field Officers of the Virg'n Regt. than we have to Com'd Genl. Shirley;

I have sent you one of the Mutiny Bills which I rec'd from below; but I think

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62. Col. John Hunter.

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63. Capt. John Dagworthy, of a Maryland independent company. His commission was from the King of Great Britain, like those of officers in the regular British Army. The claim was that such a commission was superior to any granted by a Colonial governor.

and further gave it as their opinions, that as Dagworthy's was only a botched up Comn. at best; and as he commanded a Provincial Company and by virtue of a Governor's Comn. that he ought to be arrested for his presumption, they say, allow'g his Comn. from the King to be valid; yet as he is not there by order of his Majesty; that he can have no better pretension's than a visiting half pay Officer who transiently passes thro' the Camp, to assume the Com'd. I wish you would sound him on this h'd, and hear how he will answer these things, and let me know when you come down, which I desire may be immediately; as I want much to consult you upon several accounts. The Paymaster, and Commissary if he is not very much engag'd must accompany you, desire both to have their accts. settled and brought with them, as that is necessary before I can give more money. Also desire all the Officer's who have received money for Recruit'g to make up their accts. immediately and charge for

no more Men than have actually been received at the several Rendezvous, allowance will be made for no others; the Arrears of Pay for these Officers and Soldiers who have not rec'd for the Months of Jany. and Feby. are im'y to be made out and sent down by you with the Rec'g accts.; desire them to charge for no Men but what are present, as I can pay for no others now.

indeed I believe it is absolutely necessary as we still want the power, to postpone tryal until after your return. Order Com'y Walker to see that there is particular care taken of all the Bags and to send them down if more Salt is wanted. Also order him to call upon Mr. McLean to render an acct. of the disbursements of Sundry sums of money to the amount of 70 £s, [I] let him have since the 17th. of Sept. last and bring that down with him.

Inclos'd is a Commission for Capt'n. Waggener which I have neglected giving before; so long as I have had it desire him as the comm'd will upon your leaving the place, devolve upon him to be very circumspect in his duty; and to see that the Troops are duly drawn out and train'd to their exercise and practis'd to bush fighting. As I expect in a very few days to have the pleasure of seeing you, I shall only add that I am, &c.

## ORDERS

Winchester, December 28, 1755.

Parole Hampton.

The Recruiting Officers now in town are to make out their Accompts. and deliver

them to-morrow at ten o'clock. They are to charge two Pistoles for each man received at the place of Rendezvous; and eight-pence per day for their maintenance: no other charges will be allowed. Three Recruits that Ensign Smith reviewed and passed this day, are to be furnished with Clothes, Arms, &c.

A Court of Enquiry to sit immediately to examine whether Abraham Dale, recruited by Ensign Dekeyzer, be duly enlisted. Captain Stewart, President. The Officers to give in an accompt. to-morrow at ten of the clock, of the arrears due themselves and men *now* effective.

John Campbell of Captain Gist's Company, is released from confinement; having received a sufficient reprimand for his disorderly behaviour.

Mr. Nathaniel Gist is appointed Lieutenant, and William Crawford, Ensign, in a Company of Scouts commanded by Captain Christopher Gist.

N.B. It was the unanimous judgment of the Court of Enquiry, that Dale is duly enlisted.

**To CAPTAIN WILLIAM COCKE**

Winchester, December 28, 1755.

You are hereby ordered to repair to your Company with all possible dispatch. I have found it impracticable to procure Clothes for your men. I think none so proper for Rangers as Matchcoats; therefore would advise you to procure them.

Those who have not received Clothing; for the future will have their full pay, without stoppages; and those already made, will be repaid to them. Those who have been clothed,

must either return them, or allow stoppages.

I would have you consult your men, and fall upon some method to supply them immediately. I would have all your accompts. with your men fairly stated against I come up: and always when you make payment hereafter, take receipts from each man; one of which you are to have entered in a Book kept for that purpose, for your own use: the other on a sheet of paper, and transmitted to me monthly.

You will receive a Bill against Mutiny and Desertion, which you must have often read to the men. And further assure them that if any Soldier deserts, although he return himself, he shall be hanged.

**To CAPTAIN JOHN ASHBY**

Winchester, December 28, 1755.

I am very much surprized to hear the great irregularities which were allowed of in your Camp. The Rum, although sold by Joseph Coombs, I am credibly informed, is your property. There are continual complaints to me of the misbehaviour of your Wife; who I am told sows sedition among the men, and is chief of every mutiny. If she is not immediately sent from the Camp, or I hear any

more complaints of such irregular Behaviour upon my arrival there; I shall take care to drive her out myself,

and suspend you.

It is impossible to get clothing here for your men. I think none so proper for Rangers as Match-coats; therefore would advise you to procure them. Those who have not receive clothing, for the future will receive their full pay without stoppages; and those already made, will be repaid them.

Those who have been clothed must either return them or allow stoppages. I would have you consult your men, and fall upon some method to supply them immediately. I have heard very great complaints about the mens pay; and that it has been misapplied: to prevent any for the future I Order, that you have your accompts. with the men properly stated against I come up. And always after you make payments hereafter, to take two receipts from each man: one of which you are to have entered in a Book kept for that purpose, for your own use; the other must be taken upon a sheet of paper, and transmitted to me monthly.

I have sent you one of the mutiny Bills which you are (as far as it relates to the men) to have frequently read to them. Further; acquaint them, that if any Soldier deserts, altho' he return himself, he shall be hanged.

## **ORDERS**

Winchester, December 30, 1755.

Parole Kendal.

The Commissary is immediately to engage eight Waggons to be sent to the Quarter-master at Alexandria, to bring Stores, &c. from that place: and he is to make a Report, as soon as he has engaged that number. A Sergeant and six men to pile up the Cannon Ball that lie scattered before the Magazine; and the Sentry there is to have Orders, not to let them be thrown about again.

## **AFTER ORDERS**

Whereas there have been some mistakes about settling the arrears of the mens pay for the months of December, January and February last: It is Colonel Washington's Orders that the Officers who

were employed in the Recruiting Service at that time, and had the men under their own command until the Draughts were made in March last, do make off from the Paymaster Books, an exact account of the arrears due the men enlisted by them, who are now effective: they then will receive

the amount; and each Officer must settle with his own Recruits, and pay them off; making stoppages of his just accompts., and take each roans receipt for the full arrears due him: which receipt must afterwards be produced to Colonel Washington. The Subaltern Officers who received money from their Captains for Recruiting must account with them for it as each Captain has given his receipt for the full sum received, for Recruiting. Three Subalterns who received money from Colonel Washington, must account with him.

## **ORDERS**

Winchester, December 31, 1755.

Parole Limrick.

As there has issued Orders several times for every Officer to provide himself with a proper Regimental Dress (which dress is also particularly described:) Colonel Washington is a good deal surprized to find that some Officers are yet unprovided; and declares, that if they do not immediately procure them, or such thereof as can be had; it will be looked upon as disobedience of Orders, and will be tried accordingly.

There are more persons returned as Sergeants than are necessary for the number of Recruits in Town. Therefore a Return must immediately be given in of the names who call themselves; so; that a proper choice may be made to do the Duty of Sergeants: the rest are to act as private Centinels, until further Orders.

## **To CAPTAIN CHRISTOPHER GIST**

Winchester, December 31, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered to proceed

to those public Places where you have the greatest probability of success; and continue Recruiting until the first day of March; at which time it is expected you will repair to this place.

You are, with some trusty person, to send your Recruits here, so soon as you raise a squad of five or ten men; and the person with whom you entrust them, is to take a receipt from the Officer, who will be appointed here to receive them, for the number delivered, specifying their names, &c. \* \* \*<sup>64</sup>

You may dispose of your Subalterns or seems best to you for the Service; giving them the same Orders you receive.

**To ROBERT HUNTER MORRIS<sup>65</sup>**

Winchester, January 5, 1756.

Honble. Sir: I am sorry it has not been in my power to acknowledge the receipt of yours till now. At the time that your

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64. An omitted paragraph duplicates the instructions as to enlisting servants and apprentices, in Washington's letter to Joshua Lewis, December 3, *ante*.

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65. Governor of Pennsylvania.

letter came to Winchester, I was at Williamsburg; before I got back, it was conveyed thither; and so from place to place has it been tossing almost untill this time.

There is nothing more necessary than good intelligence to frustrate a designing enemy, and nothing that requires greater pains to obtain. I shall, therefore, cheerfully come into any measures you can propose to settle a correspondence for this salutary end; and you may depend upon receiving (when the provinces are threatened) the earliest and best intelligence that I can procure.

I sympathized in a general concern to see the inactivity of your province in a time of eminent danger; but am pleased to find, that a feeling sense of wrongs has roused the spirit of your martial Assembly to vote a sum, which, with your judicious application, will turn to a general good.<sup>66</sup>

We took some pretty vigorous measures to collect a force upon our frontiers, upon the first alarm; which have kept us peaceable ever since: how long this may last, is uncertain. Since that force (which were Militia) are disbanded; and the Recruiting Service almost stagnated.



If you propose to levy Troops; and their destination is not a secret; I should be favoured, were I let into the scheme, that we may act conjunctly, so far as the nature of things will admit. Pray direct to me at Alexandria, to which place I design to go in about ten days from this. I am, &c.

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66. The trouble in taxing the Pennsylvania proprietaries' lands had delayed an appropriation. Sparks goes into the matter rather fully in a footnote. When the news of Braddock's defeat reach England the proprietaries, alarmed at the progress of the enemy, or, as Doctor Franklin has said, "intimidated by the clamor raised against them for their meanness and injustice," ordered the receiver general to add £5,000 to such sums as the assembly should grant for the security of the province. When this was made known to the house, a new bill was framed, granting £60,000 for the use of the Crown, with a clause exempting the proprietary estates from the tax. (See *Votes and Proceedings, Pennsylvania Assembly*, November, 1755.) In May, 1755, the Pennsylvania Assembly had given £15,000 for the King's use by an order appropriating funds then within their control; £5,000 of this money was applied to victualling the King's troops in Virginia and £10,000 to procuring and transporting provisions for the Massachusetts troops engaged in the King's service. In November the grant of £60,000 was made, and a bill for establishing and disciplining a voluntary militia was drafted by Benjamin Franklin, which, as he says, passed through the house with little difficulty, as the Quakers were left at liberty. Several companies were organized, but none ever joined the Virginians in any expedition against the Indians. The money was chiefly expended in building forts on the Pennsylvania frontiers, under the superintendence of Franklin, who was commissioned for that purpose by the governor. (See Franklin's *Works*, vol. 1, p. 153.)

## ORDERS

Winchester, Saturday, January 3, 1756.

Parole Ostend.

The Guard is to be regularly relieved every morning at ten o'clock.

The Drummer must observe to beat, at the appointed times, the following Beats. Revele at day-break; Troop, at ten o'clock; Retreat at sun-set; and Tattoo, at

nine o'clock at night. An Officer is to see that the above Orders are duly executed.

This Tour of Duty to begin with the eldest Captain; and to continue through the rest of the Officers, according to Seniority. The Officer of the Day is to make a Report of the Guard, as soon as he is relieved.

## **ORDERS**

Winchester, Tuesday, January 6, 1756.

Parole Richmond.

Whereas it has been represented to Colonel Washington, that Ensign Dekeyser has been guilty of a breach of the twenty third article of War; by behaving in a manner unbecoming the character of a Gentleman, and an Officer. He is ordered to appear before a Court of enquiry, which will sit to examine into the complaint to-morrow at ten of the clock. The Court to consist of nine Officers; none under the degree of a Captain; Lieutenant Colonel Stephen, President. All Evidences to attend.

## **ORDERS**

Winchester, Thursday, January 8, 1756.

Parole Tweed.

All the Officers in town to attend Lieutenant Colonel Stephens immediately at Limon's House. As soon as the Congress is over, three of the youngest Subalterns, and Sergeant Waters, are to go immediately in pursuit of the two Deserters, who made their escape last night; and to use their utmost endeavours to apprehend them.

Three days provision to be delivered to the Troops tomorrow, at twelve o'clock.

Lieutenant Colonel Stephen has orders to read the following suspension and admonition to all the Officers.

"Whereas the Court of Enquiry that was held yesterday in behalf of our Sovereign Lord, the King, for examining into a complaint against Leehaynsious Dekeyser, Ensign in the Virginia Regiment, for a breach of the twenty-third Article, fifteenth Section of War: Were unanimous in opinion, that he was not only guilty of the crime for which he was arrested; but had acted inconsistently with the

character of a Gentleman, and scandalously for an Officer; whose character should be preserved by the nicest rules of Honour.

For these and other reasons, unnecessary

to enumerate; I think it for the Honour of his Majesty's Service, and the good of the Regiment, that the said Lehaynsius Dekeyser be Suspended; and he is hereby suspended and debarred from holding any post or having any connection with the said Regiment, until the Governors pleasure be known; or until he is acquired by a general Court Martial; if he thinks proper to appeal for a further hearing.<sup>67</sup>

This timely warning of the Effects of misbehaviour will, I hope, be instrumental in animating the younger Officers to a laudable Emulation in the Service of their Country. Not that I apprehend any of them can be guilty of Offences of this nature: but there are many other misdemeanors that will, without due circumspection, gain upon inactive minds, and produce consequences equally disgraceful.

I would therefore, earnestly recommend, in every point of Duty; willingness to undertake; and intrepid resolution to execute.

Remember, that it is the actions, and not the Commission, that make the Officer and that there is more expected from him than the Title. Do not forget, that there ought to be a time appropriated to attain this knowledge; as well as to indulge pleasure. And as we now have no opportunities to improve from example; let us read, for this desirable end. There is Blands and other Treatises which will give the wished-for information.

I think it my duty, Gentlemen, as I have the Honour to preside over you, to give

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67. Dekeyser was accused of cheating at cards. The original proceedings of the court, dated Jan. 7, 1756, are in the *Washington Papers*, Library of Congress.

this friendly admonition; especially as I am determined, as far as my small experience in Service; my abilities, and interest of the Service, dictate; to observe the strictest discipline through the whole economy of my Behaviour. On the other hand; you may as certainly depend upon having the strictest justice administered to all: and that I shall make it the most agreeable part of my duty, to study merit, and reward the brave, and deserving. I assure you, Gentlemen, that partiality shall never bias my conduct; nor shall prejudice injure any: but throughout the whole tenor of my proceedings, I shall endeavour, as far as I am able, to reward and punish, without the least diminution."

## ORDERS

Winchester, Friday, January 9, 1756.

Parole Versailles.

The Tour of Duty, mentioned in the Orders of the third instant, it to be done only by the Captains. A general Return is to be given in at ten o'clock, of all the Troops in this Town; except those that belong to Captain Stewart. The Commissary must also give in a Return of all the Kettles he has in Store here.

All the Officers now in town, are to

hold themselves in readiness to attend Lieutenant Colonel Stephen to Fort Cumberland tomorrow; except Captains Stewart, Peachy and Bell.

The Virginia Regiment is now formed into Companies; and are (without a particular Order to the contrary) to remain, and be as followeth, viz.

1st. Company Captain Peter Hogg Lieutenant George Frazier Ensign William Fleming

2nd. Company Captain George Mercer Lieutenant Thomas Bullett Ensign Hedgman<sup>68</sup>

3d. Company Captain Thomas Waggener Lieutenant Walter Stewart Ensign Nathaniel Milner

4th. Company Captain Robert Stewart Lieutenant John McNeil Ensign Gordon<sup>69</sup>

5th. Company Captain Thomas Cocke Lieutenant Starke<sup>70</sup> Ensign Weedon<sup>71</sup>

6th. Company Captain John Savage Lieutenant John Blagg Ensign Smith<sup>72</sup>

7th. Company Captain William Brough Lieutenant Eustace<sup>73</sup> Ensign

8th. Company Captain John Mercer Lieutenant John Lowry Ensign

9th. Company Captain Joshua Lewis Lieutenant King<sup>74</sup> Ensign Buckner<sup>75</sup>

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68. Ensign George Hedgman or Hedgeman.

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69. Ensign George Gordon.

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70. Ensign William Stark.

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71. Ensign George Weedon.

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72. Ensign Charles Smith.

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73. Lieut. Hancock (Heindrick or Hendrick) Eustace.

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74. Lieut. John King.

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75. Ensign Mordecai Buckner, who also acted as quartermaster.

10th. Company Captain Henry Woodward Lieutenant Brockenbrough,<sup>76</sup> Ensign

11th. Company Captain Robert Spotswood, Lieutenant Lomax,<sup>77</sup> Ensign Carter<sup>78</sup>

12th. Company Captain Harrison<sup>79</sup> Lieutenant Hall<sup>80</sup> Ensign Thompson<sup>81</sup>

13th. Company Captain Charles Lewis Lieutenant Sternbergen<sup>82</sup> Ensign Hubbard<sup>83</sup>

14th. Company Captain William Peachy Lieutenant Williams<sup>84</sup> Ensign Dangerfield<sup>85</sup>

15th. Company Captain David Bell Lieutenant Campbell<sup>86</sup> Ensign Deane<sup>87</sup>

16th. Company Captain Robert McKenzie Lieutenant Baker<sup>88</sup> Ensign Price<sup>89</sup>

Each Captain is to receive his own, and his Subalterns Recruits upon his arrival at Fort Cumberland: and the Soldiers that were in the late Companies of Captains Stephen, Hogg, Polson, and Peyrounie; are to be equally divided among the promoted Lieutenants: Viz. The Captains Savage, Bronaugh, Mercer, Lewis and Woodward: who are ordered to complete their Companies, without further delay.

The new appointed Officers, who ob

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76. Lieut. Austin Brockenbrough.

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77. Lieut. John Edward Lomax.

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78. Ensign Thomas Carter.

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79. Capt. Henry Harrison.

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80. Lieut. John Hall.

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81. Ensign Nathaniel Thompson.

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82. Lieut. Peter Sternbergen.

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83. Ensign Edward Hubbard.

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84. Lieut. John Williams.

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85. Ensign William Dangerfield.

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86. Lieut. John Campbell.

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87. Ensign John Deane.

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88. Lieut. James Baker.

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89. Ensign Leonard Price.

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tained their Commissions upon condition that they should raise their Companies: are hereby informed. That it is expected the terms will be complied with, with the greatest punctuality. And it is recommended to the Serious consideration of all the Officers, who value their appointments; to set about this Duty with the greatest alacrity and dispatch: for the terms on one side, will assurdly be observed. I have my instructions from the Governour.

The Balances of the Recruiting Accompts. are to be paid on demand, to Lieutenant Colonel Stephen. And it is again desired, that no Officer will pretend to charge for any men, but what have actually been received (as some have done at Fort Cumberland; not only contrary to their Instructions, but against a positive Order).

It is also desired; that no Article may encumber the Recruiting Accompts., but such as have relation to them. The Officers pay, and pay for Sergeants, Drummers, &c. are Charges against the pay master; of whom they will receive the money.

All Subalterns who received Recruiting money from their Captains, are to account with them for it; as the Captain is to make out a General Accompt. for me, agreeable to a form herewith sent: they being answerable for the money. And as complaint has been made, that some Subalterns have expended the money without Recruiting Men equivalent: I do hereby Order that their pay be stopped; until their Captains have full and just satisfaction made to them.

And I do also declare; that if any Officer for the future shall apply the money delivered him for public uses; such as Recruiting &c. to his private purposes; that he or they shall answer it before a General Court Martial; and may depend upon suffering to the utmost rigour of their Sentence.

The Officers who have not received are to draw upon the Paymaster for their own and Mens arrears for the months of January and February last; agreeable to the Order of the thirtieth of December: and to see that the men are duly paid while they are at Fort Cumberland. They are to take receipts from each particular man; which with a general accompt., is to be lodged with Lieutenant Colonel Stephen: and as Lieutenant Colonel Stephen has received part of most of their arrears; care must be taken that the Sums so received, are duly deducted. This Accompt. will be lodged in the paymasters hands for that purpose.

The Officers who will be Ordered out Recruiting, will receive their instructions from Lieutenant Colonel Stephen.<sup>90</sup>

#### **To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN**

Winchester, January 9, 1756.

Sir: You are Ordered to proceed from this to Fort Cumberland and to be accompanied by all the Officers now in Winchester, on your way thither. You are to Reconnoitre well the Ground about Ashby's Fort; and

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90. From Winchester (January 9) Washington issued general instructions for the recruiting officers of the Virginia Regiment. They are practically the same as those issued Sept. 3, 1755, *ante*.

from thence down to the mouth of Patterson's Creek: and inform me, if you meet with a convenient situation to erect a Fort on. If you find none there; take notice of the ground, between that and Fort Cumberland, and Report accordingly as you find it. This account must be transmitted by the first opportunity. You are desired to settle such Recruiting Accompts. as have not passed my examination, and call in the balances (which you are to do, to see that the money has not been misapplied:) You are to Order the Captains or Commanding Officers of each Company, to take the most elligible means to complete their Companies agreeable to the Orders issued this day. And you are to see that proper Officers are left to do the duty: and those who are sent out, are to receive a Copy of the enclosed Instructions.

You are, so soon as you arrive at Fort Cumberland, to detach Captain Waggener with two Subalterns, three trusty Sergeants, three Corporals, a Drummer, and sixty private men, to the South Branch, above the Trough; where they are to erect small Fortresses; and use their utmost endeavours to protect the inhabitants of those Waters. His Orders will be sent to him. When you come to the Regiment, you are to give out in Orders, that every Captain or other Officer Commanding a Company is to keep exact accompts. with, and a pay-roll for, their men; and to take two receipts from each man, for their months pay: which are to be entered regularly in separate Books kept for that purpose; one of which books is to be delivered to me after each pay-day; or to the Paymaster, if I should not be present. If any

non-commissioned Officer or Soldier, after having received the Country's allowance of Clothing; should be in want of Shoes, Stockings or Shirts; he is to apply to his Captain: and if it is found that he really does stand in need of any of those things; his Captain, or Officer commanding the Company, is to draw upon the Quarter Master for them; who is to charge those things to the Captain or &c. and the Captain to the men; taking care to deduct the value next pay-day: the balance is then to be paid, and the receipt taken in full.

The Officer is not answerable to the Regiment for the value of those things, in case the men die or desert; unless it can be made appear, it is lost through his neglect, in not charging it, or stopping the value of such thing or things after it is charged.

The Quarter Master must be very careful of all the Stores, &c. committed to his care; as he will be answerable to the Regiment for their disbursements. As soon as you get up, you are to summons the Officers to appear, and to fix upon the proper persons in each Company for Sergeants; having regard to their outward appearances as well as their Moral character and Qualifications. John Sallard, and Francis Moreland, have my promises: and I think there are many more of the new ones, that will grace the Officers better than the old dirty ones, that were made through necessity.



You are to allow three to a Company,

according to the Establishment; and when they are ascertained, they will then receive Sergeants pay. You are to transmit me an account by the first opportunity, of those Officers that are sent out. Lieutenant John Edward Lomax, with the party guarding the Stores at Connongogee, is to be Relieved.

I must recommend earnestly the strictest obedience to all those Orders; and wishing you success, I am &c.

**To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER**

January [9], 1756.

I have ordered Lieutenant Colonel Stephen, so soon as he arrives at Fort Cumberland to detach you with two Subalterns, three trusty Sergeants, three Corporals, one Drummer, and sixty private men to the South Branch; to protect the inhabitants of that place.

With this Detachment you are to proceed to Colonel Vanmeeters on the South Branch; and when you arrive there, you are to summon all the chief men of that place to meet you, and agree with you on the most proper place to erect a Fort, to protect the inhabitants. You must build the Fort as large as those on Patterson's Creek, and the same model; taking care not to build any thing that you think will be expensive to the Country.

As this work is intended entirely to defend the inhabitants of the place; there is no doubt they will assist all in their power. Tools they must supply you with; for we can get,

them no where. So soon as this Fort is finished (if you do not receive Orders to the contrary) you are to leave one Subaltern, one Sergeant, and fifteen private men to Garrison it; and proceed about fifteen or twenty miles higher up the Branch; and there, in the most proper place which you and the Inhabitants can pitch upon, erect another Fort of the same dimensions.

You are to be very exact in paying your men, and to take two Receipts from them; one for your own satisfaction; the other to be transmitted to me, or the Paymaster in my absence, at Fort Cumberland, every pay-day. If your men want any necessaries, you are to draw upon the Quarter-Master of the Regiment. Those you deliver the men, are to be stopped from the next pay. You will not be liable to

pay for any necessities, which you deliver to any man, if he should desert, or die; unless it can be made appear it is lost by negligence.

All leisure hours are to be employed in exercising and disciplining your men; this must by no means be omitted. The Commissary will furnish you with provisions, &c.

The Roll of your Company is to be called three times every day; and every step taken to prevent desertion: but in case any of your men should desert, you are immediately to send in pursuit of them; and use the utmost of your endeavours to apprehend them. If you find that the

plan of the Forts on Patterson's Creek, will be too tedious to erect (as the Bastions are of hewn logs) you are to make the whole a Stockade.

### **To CAPTAIN ROBERT STEWART**

January 9, 1756.

You are hereby Ordered to remain in this town until further Orders: when you are to receive and pass receipts for all the good Recruits which are brought to town.

So soon as any Recruits come in,

you are to review them; and if you find any that do not answer the instructions, you are immediately to discharge them. You are to be very particular in observing the day the Recruits are delivered here; and are to take a list of those you receive; mentioning their names, age, height, &c. and the Officers to whom they belong. The Commissary is not to deliver provisions, &c. without your order. You are to bring in all your Recruits, which you keep for the Troop, into this Town; except a Corporal and three or four men to take care of the Horses, and see that Sentries are always kept over the Magazine, and other Houses where the Stores are, in this place. You are to forward to me, at Alexandria, all Letters which may be sent here for me, and, if any Express should arrive here, you are immediately to dispatch it to me. During your stay here, you are to enlist all the able-bodied men you can for his Majesty's Service. You are to have the provisions in town inspected; and call in any two or three persons, whom you think proper to advise with, to assist you.

### **ORDERS**

Winchester, January 10, 1756.

Parole Williamsburgh.

Yesterdays Orders for Lieutenant Colonel Stephen's March, are countermanded, and postponed until to-morrow; when he and the Officers are to set for Fort Cumberland.

Captain Stewart is to send off Sergeant Hughes, and one or two men of the Troops, upon Troop Horses, in pursuit of John Emre and David Christian, who deserted last night.

Captain Bell is to make out Advertisements of these two Deserters; and have them dispersed, for the better apprehending of them. On the return of the Officers, who went in pursuit of David Kennedy, and Abraham Dale; the horses impressed are to be delivered to the Commissary; who is to return them to their owners; making reasonable satisfaction for the use of the Horses. The Commissary must enquire after the Arms of the Deserters, and receive them into the Store: and by the first waggons that go to Fort Cumberland, to send half the Kettles here in Store; and about forty Blankets.

#### **INSTRUCTIONS FOR COMMISSARY THOMAS WALKER**

Winchester, January 10, 1756.

You are to lay in at Cockes and Ashby's Forts, three months provision.

As I can not yet determine where Store and Smoke-Houses are to be built; I would have you do the best you can, until you hear from me again. You are to provide three or four months provision to be carried on horse-back. If the Flour at Conongogee, should be demanded by the Kings Commissary; you must acquaint the Governour of it, and receive his Orders before you deliver it, or enter into any contract about it: it will nevertheless be necessary to lay in some more.

You are to provide provision on the South Branch for seventy men; which will be detached there under Captain Waggeners

command. So soon as you arrive at Fort Cumberland, you are to demand the Country Horses that have been delivered to the Officers, for which they passed their Receipts: no more are to be delivered them unless they oblige themselves to see them forth-coming.

You may give a Reward to any person that finds any of the Country Horses; but they are not to be allowed to sell or keep them for their own use.

No Forage is to be issued at Fort Cumberland, but to the public Horses. If you can buy any quantity of forage at a moderate price, you may lay it in, both at the Fort and this place. The number of Tools, Saddles, nails, &c. can not be yet fixed on; so you may delay purchasing them a little.

You are to issue to the Officers at Fort Cumberland a sufficient allowance of Tallow, monthly. There are three thousand weight of Pork laid in at Job Pearsalls, which I would have you receive, and supply Cockes's Fort out of it. You are to make out as distinct an accompt. as possible, of the different Quantities and weights of the Beeyes that were killed at the Fort; which with particular accompts. and general receipts from all the Coopers, Herdsmen, and Butchers; is to be transmitted to me, by the first safe hand.

Three woman are to be allowed each Company and provisions drawn for them; on condition of their behaving well, and washing for the men: Nor more women will be allowed to draw provisions.

I would advise you to be very exact in Deliveries, payments, and receipts; and in every thing to consult the good of the Service you are employed in.

Particular care is to be taken of all the Bags you receive.

## **To CAPTAIN PETER HOGG**

Winchester, January 10, 1756.

Sir: Since writing you by Major Lewis, I have received yours; enclosing Returns of the eighth and fifteenth of December. In your letter, you speak of Johnstons<sup>91</sup> claim to a discharge, as mentioned in a former letter; that letter I never received; and know of no pretence he can have, unless disobedience of Orders and other villanous practises, are sufficient grounds to claim a discharge. As he deserted before the present Act of Assembly took place, I do not imagine that any very rigorous measures can be justified; therefore, in this case, I would recommend moderation. For want of being acquainted with the particulars of Sergeant McCully's<sup>92</sup> charge, it appears to me to be a very exorbitant one: therefore I can not give orders for payment, further than the stoppages you mention. Sergeant Wilper received twenty shillings from me to defray his Expences; if you find that insufficient, make a further allowance of what is reasonable.

I can not conceive what charge Mr. Fleming<sup>93</sup> can have; since he is allowed eight-pence per day, and no more, for the maintenance of his Recruits, until they are received: which was not before they arrived at your Garrison. Three of his men were discharged here; viz. Francis Harlowin, William Cross, and William Passwater: being judged unfit for Service. Captain Bell has orders to settle Ensign Flemings Recruiting Accompts.; allowing two pistoles for each man received; and eight-pence per day for their subsistance; from the time of attestation, to the day of delivery, and

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91. John Johnson (Johnston).

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92. Sergt. John McCully.

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93. Ensign William Fleming.

no more. He will be allowed his arrears of pay for the months of September and October: and then the balance, if any, must be paid to Captain Bell; who is to account with me. You must be very circumspect in employing Mr. Fleming as a Surgeon; and to see that he has no more opportunities than what are absolutely necessary, to enhance a Bill; as these accompts. will meet with strict scrutiny from the Committee. It is customary for all Soldiers while they are sick in the Hospital to have stoppages from their pay, for expence of Nurses, &c.

I find it next to an impossibility to strengthen your Garrison with a Subaltern and twenty men, as I was in hopes of doing sometime ago: so slowly do we proceed in the Recruiting Service: but if the Service you are ordered upon, does not continue long; and you can find time to recruit twenty or twenty-five men; I will see that another Subaltern shall be added to your Company.

Lieutenant McNiel has an appointment in the Light Horse. In his room, you will receive Lieutenant Frazier; who must arrive there, before the other quits.

You are to return me a pay-roll for September, as you received that months pay from me: but for the subsequent months, you are to account with the pay-master; transmitting regular Rolls and Receipts, signed by yourself and Officers; as mentioned in my last. You are to account with Mr. Walker (Commissary) for the twenty pounds received

of me; and the two hundred pounds by Lieutenant McNeil; as he is charged with those sums.

I expect the Governor, as he is providing many necessaries for Major Lewis's expedition,<sup>94</sup> will furnish you with Kettles. If he should not, you must endeavour to supply yourself among the

Settlers; for the expence of sending them from this, is of greater value than the Kettles themselves. And indeed I can not see why your men, while they are in Garrison, may not use one Kettle as well now, as they did before; were there a certain place appointed for Cooking. I am &c.

**To ALEXANDER BOYD**

Winchester, January 10, 1756.

You are, out of the public money in your hands, to pay off all the Troops of the Virginia Regiment to the first of this instant with what arrears are due both Officers and Soldiers. After doing that, if you do not receive a supply of cash from me; and shall not have sufficient in your hands to pay the whole, this present months pay; you are, in order to keep the Soldiers quiet, only to pay them, and those of the Officers who are most in want of it. The rest will receive their pay, as soon as I can send you money. "Arrears are only to be paid those men who are now actually in the Service, which you will see by your pay-rolls: and the sums which Colonel Stephen received, are to be

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94. Maj. Andrew Lewis, who went into the Cherokee country in 1756.

deducted from each man."

Sergeants will be appointed to each Company; those you are to pay full pay.

You are to make the proper stoppages from each person, according to a former Order. "The Officers are ordered to take two Receipts from each man; one of which I have ordered to be delivered you, in my absence, before you make the next payment."

Let the arrears paid the Officers and men, be kept in a separate accompt. from the ordinary payments.

**\*To ROBERT DINWIDDIE**

Alexandria, January 13,<sup>95</sup> 1756.

Honble. Sir: Majr Lewis, being at Winchester when your Letter came to hand, was immediately despatched to Augusta, to take upon him the command of the Troops destined against the Shawnese Town;<sup>96</sup> with orders to follow such directions as he shou'd receive from you. This scheme,

tho' I am apprehensive will prove abortive,<sup>97</sup> as we are told that those Indians are removed up the River, into the Neighbourhood of Duquisne.

I have given all necessary orders for training the Men to a proper use of their Arms, and the method of Ind'n Fighting, and hope in a little time to make them expert. And I shou'd be glad to have your honour's express Commands, either to prepare for taking the Field, or for guarding our Frontiers in the spring, because the steps for these two are very different. I have already built two Forts on Patterson's Creek, (which have engaged the chief of the Inhabitants to return to the Plantns) and have now ordered Captain Waggener with 60 Men to build and Garrison two others, (on places I have pointed out high up) on the South branch, which will be a means of

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95. Ford dates this letter January 14; the original is dated January 13 by Kirkpatrick.

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96. "The Cherokees have taken up the Hatchet against the Shawanese and French, and have sent 130 of their warriors into New River, and propose to march immediately to attack and cut off the Shawanese in their towns. I design they shall be joined with three companies of rangers and Capt. Hogg's company, and I propose Colo. Stephens or Major Lewis to be commander of the party on this expedition."— *Dinwiddie to Washington*, Dec. 14, 1755. Known as the Sandy Creek Expedition.— *Ford*.

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97. Washington's idea proved correct; Major Lewis's expedition failed of results.

securing near an 100 Miles of our Frontiers, exclusive of the Command at Fort Dinwiddie, on Jackson's River. And, indeed, without a much greater number of Men than we have a visible prospect of getting, I don't see how it is possible to think of passing the Mountains, or acting more than defensively. This seems to be the full determination of the Pensylvanians; so that there can be no hope of assistance from that quarter. If we only act defensively, I would most earnestly recommend the building of a strong Fort at some convenient place in Virginia, as that in Maryland, not to say any thing of the situation, which is extreamly bad, will ever be an Eye Sore to this Colony, and attended with more Inconveniences than it is possible to enumerate. One Instance of this I have taken notice of, in a letter that accompanies this, and many more I could recite, were it necessary.

If we take the Field, there is not time to carry on a work of this kind, but we shou'd immediately sett about engaging Waggons, Horses, Forage, Pack Saddles, etc. And here I cannot help remarking, that I believe it will be impossible to get Waggons or horses sufficient, without the old Score is paid off; as the People are really ruined for want of their money, and complain justly of

their grievances.

I represented in my last the Inconveniences of the late Act of Assembly, which obliges us first to send to your honour for a Commission to hold Genl. Courts Martial, and then to delay execution until a warrant can be had from Williamsburg, and hope you will take the same into consideration. We have several Deserters now on hd, which I have taken by vigorous measures, and that shou'd be made examples to others, as this practice is continued with greater spirit than ever.

Unless Cloathing is soon provided, the Men will be unfit for any kind of Service. And I know of no expedient to procure them, but by sendg. to the Northward, as cloath cannot be had here. I left, among other returns, an exact acct of the Cloathing at every place, when I was in Williamsburg. I shan't care to lay in Provisions for more than 1,000 Men, unless I have your honour's orders. We have put out such of the Beeves as were unfit for Slaughtering. If they survive the Winter, they may be useful in the Summer.

Ensign Polson havg. received a Commission in Colo. Gage's Regt. makes a vacancy here which, with your approbation, will be filled by Mr. Dennis McCarty, whom you once appointed a Captain. He has continued a Volunteer ever since, and has recruited several Men into the Service, and I hope your honour will allow me the liberty, as you once promised me, of filling up the vacancies,

as they happen, with the Volunteers, that serve with that expectation. We have several with us, that seem to be very deserving young Gentn. I shall observe the strictest justice in promotg. them according to their merit, and time of entering the Service. I have ordered Captn. Hog to render immediately a fair acct. to the Com[missar]y of the money sent him; he was ordered to lay in Provisions for only 12 Months. Captn. Stewart has recruited his Complement of Men. I should be glad to know whether he is to compleat his horse against the Spring and provide accoutrements.

I have been obliged to suspend Ensign Dekeyser for Misbehavior till your pleasure is known. See the proceedings of the enquiring Court. His Character in many other respects has been infamous. I have also been obliged to threaten, in your name, the new appointed Officers with the same Fate if they are not more diligent in Recruiting the Companys, as each received his Commission upon those terms. Captn. Mercer comes down for more money and to satisfy how the £10,000 has been applied.

The Skipper of the Vessels has embezzled some of the Stores; but for want of

a particular Invoice of them, we cannot ascertain the loss. He is kept in confinement until your Honor's pleasure is known. I am, &c.

[V.H.S.]



**To CAPTAIN CHARLES LEWIS**

[Alexandria], January 27, 1756.

Dear Charles: The first of March I appointed for the general Rendezvous; as I conceived a plan of operations for the ensuing Campaign would be concerted and ordered by that time: However, yours is Hereby prolonged until the twentieth of the month; at which time, without a further prolongation, you are Ordered to repair to Winchester without fail.

I am greatly astonished at Mr. Starke's behaviour, but more surprized at the Courts opinion; who must (at least ought) to know, that if Captain Dagworthy really was Commander which by the by, is a point I have never yet agreed to) that there are certain Compliments due from Troops to their own Field Officers, which can not well be dispensed with; but more of this anon.

If you can inform particularly of these proceedings it will be agreeable, in a letter, when opportunity offers, to Alexandria.

It gave me infinite satisfaction to hear Colonel Stephen express his approbation of your conduct. Assure yourself, dear Charles, that activity and Bravery in Officers are the means to recommend them to their Country's applause; and will ever endear them to reel Your courage and abilities were always equal to my wishes: But I dreaded the pernicious effects of liquor; especially as I knew it bereft you of that prudent way of reasoning, which at other times you are master of. Such inconsistent behaviour as liquor sometimes prompts you to, may be borne by your Friends; but can not by Officers; and in a camp, where each individual should

regulate his conduct for the good of the whole, and strive to excel in all laudable Emulations. This comes from me as your Friend, not as a Superior Officer; who must, when occasion requires, condemn as well as applaud: Though in sincerity I tell you, it would grate my nature to censure a person for whom I have a real love and esteem; and one, too, who I know has a capacity to act as becomes the best of Officers.<sup>2</sup>

This timely admonition will not, I hope, be thought unseasonable. I am influenced by friendly motives to give this advice: and offer it as a proof of the Regard with which I am, etc.

**To LIEUTENANT GEORGE FRAZIER**

January 27, 1756.

Sir: You are really appointed to Captain Hoggs Company as Captain Peachy told you; and I am sorry to say, as it is disagreeable to you, that you must abide by this regulation; and repair to the Company with all convenient dispatch.

If it is absolutely necessary for you to go by Fort Cumberland; I must recommend diligence, as your presence may be wanting. As to your having Fort Duty this year, it is no other than what I expect we all shall have (I see no prospect of taking the Field;) and if I judge right, you may have as good and opportunity to reap Laurels on Jackson's River, as at any other Station on our Frontiers; along which

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2. Capt. Charles Lewis, later major, was a younger brother of Col. Andrew Lewis. Captain Lewis was killed at the Battle of Point Pleasant, Oct. 10, 1774.

I expect the Troops will all be posted.

Since you mention how much Captain Hogg and Son are addicted to disputation; I think it my duty to caution you against it. For if any difference arises, by which the Public Service is in the least retarded; the Offender shall certainly answer it to a General Court Martial; and undergo the utmost rigour of the Sentence.

It is possible, Captain Hogg's Company may be marched on a certain expedition, Ordered by the Governor; should this be the case, you are to remain at the Garrison until his return; and as soon as that happens, relieve Lieutenant McNeil, and order him to join his Troop.

**To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN**

Alexandria February 1, 1756.

Sir: If you find that a good road by Ross's Mill can be so easily cut, the sooner it is set about the better. As the Governor is still silent concerning what I represented about building a fort on Patterson's Creek, I would have you desist, at least for a while, and erect such buildings as are absolutely necessary at Fort Cumberland, and no more.

You may depend upon it I shall take proper notice of the late proceedings you speak of, but for certain reasons am obliged to postpone it. Things not yet being rightly settled for punishing deserters according to their crimes, you must go on in the old way of *whipping* stoutly.<sup>4</sup>

If casks are still wanted, there should be great care used to provide them in time.

Looking upon our affairs at this critical juncture to be of such importance, and having a personal acquaintance with General Shirley, which I thought might add some weight to the strength of our memorial, I solicited leave, which is obtained, to visit him in person, and accordingly set out in two days for Boston, having procured letters, &c. from the Governor, which was the result of a Council for that purpose called. You may depend upon it, I shall leave no stone unturned for this salutary end; and, I think, if reason, justice, and

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4. Stephen had asked if he should continue the whipping punishment for desertion. The other matter was the case of a defiant officer who seemed to have been imitating Capt. John Dagworthy in questioning Washington's authority. Stephen did not mention names.

every other equitable right can claim attention, we deserve to be heard.

As I have taken the fatigue &c. of this tedious journey upon myself, (which I never thought of until I had left Winchester,) I hope you will conduct every thing in my absence for the interest and honor of the service. And I must exhort you in the most earnest manner to strict discipline and due exercise of arms.

You may tell Mr. Livingston from me, that, if the soldiers are not skilled in arms equal to what may reasonably be expected, that he most assuredly shall answer it at my return. And I must ingenuously tell you, that I also expect to find them expert at bush-fighting. You are to order that a particular account be taken of the provisions that are delivered to the Maryland and Carolina companies by the commissary.

The Governor seems determined to make the officers comply with the terms of getting their commissions, or forfeit them, and approves of Dekeyser's suspension,<sup>5</sup> and orders, that he shall not be admitted into the camp. He seems uneasy at what I own gives me much concern, *i.e.* , that gaming seems to be introduced into the camp. I am ordered to discourage it, and must desire that you will intimate the same.

I have sent Commissions for McCarty and Doctor Roy; which deliver, and have them declared in Orders.

As money may be wanted for paying the

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5. Lehaynsius Dekeyser was tried by court-martial on a charge of conduct "unbecoming a gentleman and an officer," in cheating at cards, and found guilty. (See Orders, January 8, *ante*.)

troops, and other incidental charges, order the paymaster down to Alexandria, where he may receive of Mr. Kirkpatrick the sum requisite.

I have ordered Ensign Deane with a party that was here; to relieve Lieutenant Lomax.

I think of nothing else at present worth relating: so, with once more exhorting you to strict observation of discipline, conclude, yours, &c.

#### **To COMMISSARY THOMAS WALKER**

Alexandria, February 1, 1756.

Sir: As the contention about the command is risen to the disagreeable height it now is; and would probably, if not timely prevented, be attended with very bad consequences to the public: I solicited leave, which is obtained, to visit the General and represent all those matters to him and accordingly I set out on Monday next.<sup>3</sup>

When I saw you last, you proposed as a thing which you believed might be accomplished, to reduce the hire of Waggon by contracting with a certain number for certain prices: If this can be done, it will be very advisable; as their demands are very exorbitant at present.

Such Stores as are now lying at Winchester and are wanted at the Fort, must be got up as fast as conveniency will admit. And as Houses may be wanted for the provisions, &c. they must be built: but I must intreat, that every unnecessary expence be avoided: as it is uncertain whether the Fort will be continued at Will's Creek

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3. Gen. and Gov. William Shirley, at Boston, Mass.

or not. As it is possible you may want money before my return (which can not be before the middle or last of March) you must draw upon the Secretary Mr. Kirkpatrick, who has Orders to pay.

Mr. Boyd, the Pay-master, is ordered to Alexandria; to receive money for payment of the Troops: you may desire him to receive for you.

I must earnestly recommend diligence to you in this important season; and closely attend the Duty, let it call you wheresoever it will. I am etc.

**To ROBERT DINWIDDIE**

Alexandria, February 2, 1756.

Honble. Sir: I can but return my very hearty thanks for your kind condescension in suffering me to wait upon General Shirley, as I am very well assured it was done with the intention to favor my suit.

There is as yet an unanswerable argument against our taking the field, which I forgot to mention in my last; that is, the want of a train of artillery, and, what is full as necessary, engineers to conduct the affair, if we hope to approach Fort Duquisne. By the advices, which we have received hitherto from the northward, the Pennsylvanians are determined to act defensively. For that purpose they have posted their new raised levies upon their frontiers at different passes, and have received the additional strength and favor of a detachment or two from the regulars. I have ordered, besides the forts that are built, and now building, that a road which I had reconnoitred, and which proves nearer and better, to be immediately opened for the more easy transportation of stores, &c. from Winchester to Fort Cumberland; so there

is not the least fear of the soldiers being corrupted through idleness. The commission for calling general courts-martial appears to me to be imperfect, (notwithstanding it is drawn by the attorney-general,) as it rather, by the words, appoints me, or whoever it is directed to, president of the said court, than invests a power to call one as often as occasion shall require. For which reason it is not in my power to hold a court-martial without its being first ordered by you; whereas, the commission should empower to appoint a court, of which he is to be president. But as I hope there will be little occasion for any until I come back, it may be deferred until then, when that and other things, I hope, will be properly settled.\*\*\*

As to those fifty suits delivered Colonel Fairfax for the Rangers I have no cognizance of them; they were delivered by himself, Colonel Martin, Lord Fairfax, and the Officers of the said Rangers with the

greatest irregularity; as indeed some other of the public Stores have been by their order's; such as ammunition &c. I shall take care to give your Honour previous notice of all new appointed Officers; and have sent an order to Col. Stephen, to confirm DeKeyser's suspension.

I have always, so far as it was in my power, endeavoured to discourage gaming in the camp; and always shall so long as I have the honor to preside there.

I have delivered the skipper to Mr. Carlyle, who proposes, in order to save expenses to send him round by water, in the vessel that brought up the stores. The evidences in this affair will be Mr. Carlyle, Ensigns Buckner and Deane, and one of the men that is now in the vessel.<sup>6</sup>

I cannot help observing, that your Honor, if you have not seen the clothing lately sent up, has been imposed upon by the contractors, for they are really unfit for use; at least, will soon be so.

I have nothing particular to add, but to assure your Honour, that I shall use my utmost diligence in the prosecution of my journey and pretensions, and that I am, &c.<sup>7</sup>

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6. The skipper had embezzled some of the stores which his vessel had brought from Williamsburg up the Rappahannock.

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7. Colonel Washington with his aide-de-camp, Capt. George Mercer, and two servants, Thomas Bishop and John Alton, left Alexandria on his journey to Boston, February 4. He started on his return March 2. En route he passed through Philadelphia, New York, New London, Newport, and Providence, visited the Governors of Pennsylvania and New York, and spent several days in each of the principal cities.

General Shirley furnished Washington with the following decision:

"Boston, March 5, 1754.

"Governor Dinwiddie, at the instance of Colonel Washington, having referred to me concerning the right of command between him and Captain Dagworthy, and desiring that I should determine it, I do therefore give it as my opinion, that Captain Dagworthy, who now acts under a commission from the governor of Maryland, and where there are no regular troops joined, can only take rank as a provincial captain, and of course is under the command of all provincial field-officers; and, in case it should happen, that Colonel Washington and Captain Dagworthy should join at Fort Cumberland, it is my order that Colonel Washington shall take the command.

"W. Shirley."

**To LIEUTENANT JOHN BLAGG**

April 7, 1756.

You are hereby Ordered to proceed with the party under your command, with the utmost expedition to Joseph Edwards's on Great Capecapon: where you are to remain, and endeavour to procure what intelligence you can, and transmit to me from time to time. I would by no means have you go in pusuit of the Enemy, unless you are joined

by such parties of the Militia, as you judge from the intelligence you may receive, may be able to drive them off. and even in that case you are not to pursue them too far from your Station, until you receive further Orders from me.

You must endeavour to keep the inhabitants of the place together, as much as possible; to keep them quiet; and afford them all the assistance you can in compliance with your Orders.

You are to endeavour to keep a communication open with Ensign Hubbard at Enochs; who must transmit what intelligence he receives of the Enemy. And if you think it of consequence, you are immediately to let me know. Above all things, I must recommend to you diligence and care to guard against any Surprize.

**To ROBERT DINWIDDIE**

Winchester, April 7, 1756.

Honble. Sir; I arrived here yesterday, and think it advisable to despatch an express (notwithstanding I hear two or three are already sent down) to inform you of the unhappy situation of affairs on this quarter. The enemy have returned in greater numbers, committed

several murders not far from Winchester, and even are so daring as to attack our forts in open day, as your Honor may see by the enclosed letters and papers. Many of the inhabitants are in a miserable situation by their losses, and so apprehensive of danger, that, I believe, unless a stop is put to the depredations of the Indians, the Blue Ridge will soon become our frontier.

I find it impossible to continue on to Fort Cumberland, until a body of men can be raised, in order to do which I have advised with Lord Fairfax, and other officers of the militia, who have ordered each captain to call a private muster, and to read the exhortation enclosed (for orders are no longer regarded in this county), in hopes that this expedient may meet with the wished-for success. If it should, I shall, with such men as are ordered from Fort Cumberland to join these, scour the woods and suspected places, in all the mountains, valleys, &c. on this part of our frontiers; and doubt not but I shall fall in with the Indians and their *more* cruel associates! I hope the present emergency of affairs, assisted by such good news as the Assembly may by this time have received from England, and the Commissioners, will determine them to take vigorous measures for their own and country's safety, and no longer depend on an uncertain way of raising men for their own protection. However absurd it may appear, it is nevertheless certain, that five hundred Indians have it more in their power to annoy the inhabitants, than ten times their number of regulars. For besides the advantageous way they

have of fighting in the woods, their cunning and craft are not to be equalled, neither their activity and indefatigable sufferings. They prowl about like wolves, and, like them, do their mischief by stealth. They depend upon their dexterity in hunting and upon the cattle of the inhabitants for provisions. For which reason, I own, I do not think it unworthy the notice of the legislature to compel the inhabitants (if a general war is likely to ensue, and things to continue in this unhappy situation for any time), to live in townships, working at each other's farms by turns, and to drive their cattle into the thick settled parts of the country. Were this done, they could not be cut off by small parties, and large ones could not subsist without provisions.

It seemed to be the sentiment of the House of Burgesses when I was down, that a chain of forts should be erected upon our frontiers, for the defence of the people. This expedient, in my opinion, without an inconceivable number of men, will never answer their expectations.<sup>14</sup>

I doubt not but your Honor has had a particular account of Major Lewis's unsuccessful attempt to get to the Shawanese Town. It was an expedition, from the length of the march, I own, I always had little expectation of, and often expressed my uneasy apprehensions on that head. But since they are

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14. In March the burgesses had voted to erect a chain of forts "to begin at Harry Enochs, on Great-Cape-Capon. in the county of Hampshire, and to extend to the South-Fork of Mayo River in the county of Halifax, to consist of such a number, and at such distance from each other, as shall be thought necessary and directed by the governor, or commander in chief of this colony."—*Sparks*. (See Hening's *Statutes at Large*, vol. 7, P. 18), Louis K. Koontz's *The Virginia Frontier, 1754–*



1763 (Baltimore: 1925) is the best account of these forts. (See note to Washington's letter to John Robinson, April 24, *post.*)

returned, with the Indians that accompanied them, I think it would be a very happy step to prevail upon the latter to proceed as far as Fort Cumberland. It is in their power to be of infinite use to us; and without Indians, we shall never be able to cope with those cruel foes to our country.<sup>15</sup>

I would therefore beg leave to recommend in a very earnest manner, that your Honor would send an express to them immediately for this desirable end. I should have done it myself, but was uncertain whether it might prove agreeable or not. I also hope your Honour will order Major Lewis to secure his guides, as I understand he attributes all his misfortunes to their misconduct. Such offences as those should meet with adequate punishment, else we may ever be misled by designing villains. I am your Honor's, &c.

Since writing the above, Mr. Pearis,<sup>16</sup> who commanded a party as per enclosed list, is returned, who relates, that, upon the North River, he fell in with a small body of Indians which he engaged, and, after a dispute of half an hour, put them to flight. Monsieur Douville, commander of the party, was killed and scalped, and his instructions found about him, which I enclose. We had one man killed, and two wounded. Mr. Pearis sends the scalp by Jenkins; and I hope, although it

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15. Major Lewis's party suffered greatly on this expedition. The rivers were so much swollen by the rains and melting snow that they were unable to reach the Shawanese town; and after being six weeks in the woods, having lost several canoes with provisions and ammunition, they were reduced nearly to a state of starvation and obliged to kill their horses for food. A full account of this expedition is given by L. C. Draper in *Virginia Historical Register* (1852); also by Waddell in *Annals of Augusta County* (p. 81).— *Ford*.

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16. Richard Pearis, or Paris; later a captain. He seems to have been an Indian trader and frontiersman on the Holston River.

is not an Indian's, they will meet with an adequate reward at least, as the monsieur's is of much more consequence. The whole party jointly claim the reward, no person pretending solely to assume the merit.<sup>17</sup>

Your Honor may in some measure penetrate into the daring designs of the French by their instructions, where orders are given to *burn*, if possible, our magazine at Conococheague, a place that is in the midst of a thickly settled country.

I have ordered the party there to be made as strong as time and our present circumstances will afford, for fear they should attempt to execute the orders of Dumas.<sup>18</sup> I have also ordered up an officer and twenty recruits to assist Joseph Edwards, and the people on those waters.<sup>19</sup> The people of this town are under dreadful apprehensions of an attack, and all the roads between this and Fort Cumberland are much infested. As I apprehend you will be obliged to draft men, I hope care will be taken that none are chosen but active, resolute men,—men, who are practised to arms, and are marksmen.

I also hope that a good many more will be taken than what are requisite to complete our numbers to what the Assembly design to establish; as many of

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17. At this time there was no law in Virginia fixing the rewards for scalps, and it was probably left to the discretion of the governor. Shortly afterwards, a reward of £10 was established by law for every hostile Indian taken prisoner or killed. This law was to remain in force during the war. It applied only to Indians, and not to enemies of any other description. In Maryland at one time the bounty for each Indian prisoner, or scalp, taken within the province was as high as £50. But this allowance was not made to soldiers in public pay. (See Hening's *Statutes at Large*, vol. 7, p. 551, and *Acts of the Maryland Assembly*, September, 1756.) For service in Indian wars, Sparks quotes from Penhallow's *Indian Wars*, in the *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, vol. 1, pp. 52, 105, 110, that the commissioners of the United Colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut decreed that the soldiers should have "the benefit of the captives, and all lawful plunder, and the reward of £5 per head for every fighting Indian man slain by them, over and above their stated wages." By "the benefit of the captives" is here meant the privilege of selling them into slavery, a practice which seems gradually to have been abandoned. At a later period Massachusetts and New Hampshire offered by law a bounty of £50 for each scalp, and on some occasions as high as £100.

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18. Dumas had succeeded Contrecoeur in the command of Fort Duquesne. The following is a translation of the orders found on Douville, which, at least, give a favorable indication of the commandant's humanity.

"Fort Duquesne, March 23, 1756.

"The Sieur Douville, at the head of a detachment of fifty savages, is ordered to go and observe the motions of the enemy in the neighbourhood of Fort Cumberland. He will endeavor to harass their convoys, and burn their magazines at Conococheague, should this be practicable. He must use every effort to take prisoners, who may confirm what we already know of the enemy's designs. The Sieur Douville will employ all his talents, and all his credit, to prevent the savages from committing any

cruelties upon those, who may fall into their hands. Honor and humanity ought, in this respect, to serve as our guide."

"Dumas." This is doubtless the same officer who commanded the French and Indians at the Monongahela, after the death of M. de Beaujeu.— *Sparks*.

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19. Great Cacapon. Edwards was between Winchester and Romney.

those we have got are really in a manner unfit for duty; and were received more through necessity than choice; and will very badly bear a re-examination. Another thing I would beg leave to recommend; and that is, that such men as are drafted, should be only taken for a time, by which means we shall get better men, and which will in all probability stay with us.

### To JOHN ROBINSON

Winchester April 7, 1756.

Dear Sir: I arrived here yesterday, and though not a little fatigued, and incessantly hurried by the afflicting news from the back inhabitants, who are hourly importuning me for assistance, which is not in my power to give. I can not omit this favourable opportunity to give some account of the gloomy aspect that things bear at present. And I am sorry to say, that unless there are speedy and vigorous measures taken by the Assembly, I fear things will still assume a more melancholy appearance! I have transmitted to the Governor sundry accounts which have arrived here since I did, which I hope he will lay before you, as I have not had time to copy them. The people in general are greatly intimidated, and so apprehensive of danger, that I really believe the blue ridge Mountains will in a little time become the Frontiers of Virginia. If the *fears* of the people do not magnify *numbers*, those of the Enemy are not inconsiderable. They have made many

ineffectual attempts upon several of our Forts; destroyed Cattle, burned Plantations; and this in defiance of our *smaller* parties, while they dextrously avoid the *larger*.

Our Detachments, by what I can learn, have sought them diligently; but the cunning and vigilance of Indians in the woods are no more to be conceived, than they are to be equalled by our people. Indians are only match for Indians; and without these, we shall ever fight upon unequal Terms.

I hope the Assembly, since they see the difficulty of getting men by enlistment, will no longer depend upon that uncertain way of raising them; but make each of the lower Counties furnish its full

proportion. Many of the men which we have already got, are extreme sorry; but I did not care to discharge them, until others could be had in their stead.

I would therefore beg leave to recommend, that more should be draughted than what are necessary to complete our numbers, which may be seen by Colonel Stephens return to the Governor; and then out of the whole our Complement may be chosen of active and resolute men; such as have been practised to the use of Arms; and are what is commonly called marksmen: and in order to encourage those to go with less reluctance,

I think it not amiss, that they should only serve eighteen or twenty months and then be discharged: Twenty months will produce two full campaigns; which will, I apprehend, bring matters nearly to a crisis one way or other.

However unaccountable it may appear to Gentlemen unused to the Indian method of warring; to say that five hundred Indians have more power to annoy and disturb our Inhabitants than ten times as many Regulars, it is yet literally true; for besides the advantage they have in the woods, their cunning and patience in waiting for opportunities to commit their murders, are no more to be paralleled, than their activity and indefatigable Sufferings. Their cunning is only to be equalled by that of the Fox; and, like them, they seize their prey by stealth. They will travel from pole to pole, depending upon *chance*, and their own dexterity for provision. But *here*, they have not that occasion; for the Cattle of the Inhabitants have become their chief subsistence. For which reason, as I observed to the Governour, I do not think it unworthy the consideration of the Legislature to compel the Inhabitants, if there is a prospect of a General War or certainty that these disturbances may continue, to dwell in Townships, working at each others Farms by turns: and to drive their Cattle into the more internal parts of the Country. Were this done, they would be an overmatch for small parties of Indians; and large ones could not subsist without the assistance of their Stock, as Game is now very scarce among the Inhabitants. I hope you will be kind

enough to excuse the freedom with which I have offered my opinion; and impute it to the hearty zeal I owe to, and wish to *serve* my Country. I was disappointed in my expectations of continuing on to Fort Cumberland for want of an Escort. I applied to Lord Fairfax to see if we could raise a number of the Militia; and have also ordered a party of one hundred men from Fort Cumberland to join this body; if any such are collected at Enochs's; with which I shall endeavour to scour the mountains and suspected Grounds between this and the Allegany, but I will discover their lurking places.

His Lordship thought it expedient to use exhortations with the men; for Orders are no longer regarded here. So that the success of this attempt I can not pretend to determine. This much you

may be assured of, that nothing in my power shall be unattempted to repel the Enemy, and quiet the people. I am, Dear Sir, etc.

**To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN**

Winchester, April 7, 1756.

Sir: I am very much surprized to hear that

the Officers with the Detachments from Fort Cumberland, are returned without meeting with the Enemy; as they were committing their depredations and cruelties in all parts at that time, even as low as Sleepy-Creek. It is determined here by Lord Fairfax and others of the militia, that a number of them shall be raised to march out and scour the Country. They are to rendezvous here this day Sennight; and I shall march them up immediately to Enochs's; where I order that you immediately detach one hundred, or an hundred and fifty men, under proper Officers, to join me there. I desire you will Order Captain Gist when he comes, down to Connongochieg again for the Stores; to procure a sufficient number of Battoes and Canoes, to take them all up at one Trip: as it will be less fatiguing for the men, and more secure.

You must see that the party you send down have their Arms in very good order, and are well supplied with ammunition and Provision. Send down about five hundred spare flints, and some cartridge-paper. I am &c.

**To CAPTAIN DAVID BELL**

Winchester, April 8, 1756.

You are Hereby Ordered to proceed immediately to Conogochiege; and are there to take upon you the Command of the Troops now stationed *there*, for defence of the Stores, &c. You are to endeavour with all possible expedition to procure a sufficient number of Batteaus and Canoes (assisted by those which are already gone up with Captain Gist) to transport all the Stores up at one Trip. You are to endeavour to get every thing in readiness to embark as soon as possible after the return of Captain Gist; whom you are to join with your party, except a Subaltern and twenty men; and escort all the Stores safely up. You are to Order down two or three Evidences to assizes at Frederick Town, on the fifth day of May next; to

attend the trial of the person who it is said killed Mr. Gordon.<sup>20</sup> I would have Sergeant Hughes (if he can be spared from the Troop) sent as one. And you must give him Orders to apprehend all the Deserters which he may hear of in those parts before he returns.

I would recommend it to you, to guard against any Surprise from the Enemy; and endeavour as much as possible to prevent your men from desertion: and if any should desert; I desire that you may use all possible means to apprehend them.

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20. Ensign George Gordon.

### **To CAPTAIN DAVID BELL**

April 10, 1756.

As the Inhabitants of the place seem much alarmed, and under continued apprehensions of being attacked. It is my Orders, that you keep out constant Scouting Parties of the Light Horse, &c. in order that you may receive timely notice of the approach of the Enemy; which you are immediately to communicate to the Inhabitants. If you think you can strengthen the place where you are, by throwing up more works, you are immediately to set upon it; in order to be well prepared in case of an attack. You are to be careful not to weaken your Detachment, by sending out too large parties on the Scout; and that your men are exercised daily.

### **ORDERS**

Winchester, April 12, 1756.

Parole Epsom.

The Officers are to examine the Arms, Ammunition, &c. of the men, immediately. They are to have all the muskets discharged by some good marksman, in order to see if they are straight; those that are not, are immediately to be carried to the Smith to put them in order. They must also examine the locks and ram-rods, and see that they are fit for Service.

They must see that all the men are complete with good Cartridges; those that are not, must receive to night at Retreat Beating; and each must have two good spare flints delivered to him at the same time. If there are not Cartridges sufficient in the Store to complete all the Men; the Sergeants to

be employed immediately in making more: and an Officer must be present to see that no waste is made.

The Troops now quartered here, are to receive four clays provision to-day at ten o'clock.

**To ROBERT DINWIDDIE**

Winchester, April 16, 1756.

Honorable Sir: All my Ideal hopes, of raising a Number of Men, to scour the adjacent Mountains, have vanished into Nothing. Yesterday was the appointed Time, for a General Rendezvous of all who were willing to accompany Me, for that desirable End; and only 15 appeared: So that I find myself reduced, to the farther Necessity of waiting at this Place a few Days longer, till the Arrival of a Party, which was ordered from Fort Cumberland, to escort Me up; the Roads being so infested that none but

Hunters, who travel the Woods by Night, can pass in Safety.

I have done every Thing in my Power, to quiet the Minds of the Inhabitants, by detaching all the Men that I have any Command over, to the Places which are most exposed: there have also been large Detachments from Fort Cumberland, in pursuit of the Enemy these 10 Days Past; yet nothing I fear will prevent them from abandoning their Dwellings, and flying with the utmost Precipitation.

There have been no Murders committed since I came up; but the Express I sent up to Colo. Stephen (notwithstanding he was an excellent woodsman, and a very active Fellow) was fired upon 5 Times, at a place called the Flats, within 6 Miles of Fort Cumberland. He had several Balls thro his Coat and his Horse shot under him, yet made his Escape from them.

By a Letter from a Gent in Williamsburgh, we are informed, that the Assembly have generously given the further Sum of £20,000 and voted the augmenting our Forces to 2000 Men, which is a Number, that under good Regulations, we may have some Expectations from, if they are properly appointed; for which Purpose as

I have never heard your Honour offer your Opinion, I have been free enough to project a Scheme, which is now inclosed, to have the whole 2000 formed into one Regiment, consisting of two Battalions, of ten Companies each, with five Field Officers, each of which to have a Company: and every other Company to consist of 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, one Ensigns; 4 Sergeants, 4 Corporals,

2 Drummers, and 87 private Men: which will save the Country the annual Sum of £500 6. 6. 8 and We be better appointed, and established more after the British Manner, than We now are, or should be, if formed into two Regiments, or one Regiment with only 50 Men in a Company, and I humbly conceive, where We can pattern after our Mother Country, upon as easy Terms, as pursuing Plans of our own, that we should at least pay that Deference to her Judgment, and Experience. By the Scheme proposed, of forming the Regiment into two Battalions, and of encreasing the Number of Men in a Company to 87 Private, the Country will save the Pay of many commissioned, as well as Non-commissioned Officers; who are the Persons that enhance the Expence; for the whole annual Pay of the 2000 Men, including all the Staff Officers, as well as other Commissioned Officers, Sergeants, Corporals, Drummers, and private Men; amounts only to 3£4145.10.0.

whereas were they formed into two Regiments, or one Regiment, of Fifty (but that would be quite incongruous) the Expence, would amount to £30. 152. 6. 8. which makes the aforesaid Difference of £500 6" 16" 8. Then again, we do not allow our Field Officers Companies, which I believe is the only Instance that can be given, where they are not; and this makes the Difference of three Captains Pay, for the Country allows in the same Proportion.

I have been free enough to offer my opinion very candidly; and that Light I hope it will be received in. Though it may meet [not] with your Honours approbation; I had no other Motive in proposing this Scheme, than the pleasing hopes of serving my Country. If I have mistaken the Means, I am sorry for it; and beg pardon for my Presumption.

As I am convinced that no other Method can be used to raise 2000 Men, but by draughting; I hope to be excused, when I again repeat, how great Care should be observed in choosing active Marksmen; the manifest Inferiority of inactive Persons, unused to Arms, in this kind of Service, although equal in Numbers; to lively Persons who have

practised Hunting, is inconceivable. The Chance against them is more than two to one. Another thing I hope will merit the Consideration of the Assembly; and that is, that they will put all such Men as are raised for the Expedition in actual Pay, and under the same Discipline that ours are at present: otherwise I am very well convinced, their good Intentions will prove abortive, and all the Draughts quit the Service, as soon or before, they are brought into it.

I do not conceive it to be a Hardship to put even Draughts under Martial Law, if they are only taken for a certain Time; which I could wish to be the case; as I thereby hope for better Men. I am your Honor &c.



P.S. I have a brother that has long discovered an Inclination to enter the Service; but has till this been dissuaded from it by my Mother, who now, I believe, will give consent. I must, therefore, beg that if your honour should issue any new Commissions before I come down, that you will think of him and reserve a Lieutenancy. I flatter myself that he will endeavour to deserve it as well as some that have, and others that may get [them].<sup>22</sup>

[V.H.S.]

## To JOHN ROBINSON

Winchester, April 16, 1756.

Dear Sir: When I wrote you last, I was in high hopes of being by this time at the head of a large party scouring the Allegany Hills. But the timidity of the inhabitants of this county is to be equalled by nothing but their perverseness. Yesterday was the time appointed for all to meet who were inclined to join for this desirable end, and only fifteen came, some of whom refused to go but upon such terms as must have rendered their services burthensome to the country. Therefore, I am again reduced to the necessity of waiting the arrival of a party from Fort Cumberland before I can

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22. This is an L. S. in the writing of John Kirkpatrick; the postscript is in Washington's hand. Dinwiddie answered this (April 23): "I have not the least objection to your broth's being a Lieut." The appointment, however, does not seem to have been made, as Washington's brother's name does not appear on any of the surviving returns of the Virginia Regiment of subsequent date.

leave this place. There has been no mischief clone since I wrote you last, which I attribute in some measure, to the frequent parties I have ordered out in pursuit of the enemy. Yesterday I received an account which made me suspect that the Indians rendezvoused upon the back of the Warm Spring Mountain. I have, therefore, sent orders to an officer<sup>23</sup> who is out with a party of one hundred men, to proceed thither with the best guides he can procure, and search that mountain well; which, if the intelligence be true, I hope he will render a good account of them.

Nothing, Sir, equals the pleasure I felt at hearing of the generous supplies the Assembly have voted. But to find that the men and money which they have given are properly disposed of, and that the men are formed for the service of the country, and not to make commissions to serve individuals, I have sent the Governor a plan or scheme of which you have a copy.\*\*\*<sup>24</sup>

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23. Capt. John Mercer. (See Washington's letter to Dinwiddie, April 18, *post.*)

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24. The omitted portion, which is printed by Ford, is the same as that in Washington's letter to Dinwiddie of this date, with a trifle more financial detail for the evident benefit of the burgesses, who would settle the appropriation.

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25. See Washington's letter to Dinwiddie, April 16, *ante.*

This calculation is made for the two thousand men, to include officers; but if that

is not the intention of the Assembly, the scheme still holds good, or better in proportion, and differs in this respect only: that each company is to contain one hundred men instead of eighty-seven, and to have the addition of a sergeant or two to each.

I have made bold, Sir, to offer my opinion freely; and if it meets with the approbation of your House, I should be glad glad if you would help it into execution. Otherwise, as I am sensible, the Governor may be strongly importuned for commissions, he may good-naturedly grant them, without considering how manifest an injury it will be to the country and service in general.<sup>\*\*\*25</sup> I am &c.

### **To CAPTAIN JOHN MERCER**

April 17, 1756.

Sir: As the great rains have prevented your march on the expedition Ordered: you are to halt at the place where you now are, until the waters are passable: and then proceed to Enoch's Fort and no farther; and remain there until you receive further Orders from me.

You must endeavour to procure some good Woodsmen, well acquainted with the place; and honest people, to send out as Spies to the Springs

and whatever you engage for to them, that is reasonable, I will pay.

The persons you engage as Spies, must set out immediately; and if they bring you any intelligence, you must transmit it immediately to me.

If you find, from any intelligence you receive, that it will be possible to fall in with the Enemy. You must detach Parties to way-lay them; and are to keep out constant Scouting Parties from the place

you are posted. The Waggon must be sent back, as you will have no use for them. You must take with you the men ordered in my last; and what provision you can.

Use all methods to get intelligence of the Enemy; and endeavour to post some parties to fall in with them. You are not to delay one moment transmitting me intelligence, if you find the Enemy is at the Warm-Springs. Yours, &c.

**To ROBERT DINWIDDIE**

Winchester, April 18, 1756.

Honble. Sir: It gave me infinite concern to find in yours<sup>26</sup> by Governor Innes, that any representations should inflame the Assembly against the Virginia regiment, or give cause to suspect the morality and good behaviour of the officers. How far any of the individuals may have deserved such invidious reflections, I will not take upon me to determine, but *this* I am certain of, and can call my conscience, and what, I suppose, will still be a more demonstrable proof in the eyes of the world, my orders, to witness how much I have, both by threats and persuasive means, endeavoured to discountenance gaming, drinking, swearing, and irregularities of every other kind; while I have, on the other hand, practised every artifice to inspire a laudable emulation in the officers for the service of their country, and to encourage the soldiers in the unerring exercise of their duty. How far I have failed in this desirable end, I cannot pretend to say. But it is nevertheless a point, which does in my opinion merit some scrutiny, before it meets with a final condemnation. Yet I will not undertake to vouch for the conduct of many of the officers, as I know there are some, who have the seeds of idleness very strongly ingrafted in their natures; and I also know, that the unhappy difference about the command, which has kept

me from Fort Cumberland, has consequently prevented me from *enforcing* the orders, which I never fail to *send*.

However, if I continue in the service, I shall take care to act with a little more rigor, than has hitherto been practised, since I find it so absolutely necessary.

I wrote your Honor in my last how unsuccessfully we attempted to raise the militia, and that I was reduced to the necessity of waiting here the arrival of an escort from Fort Cumberland.

Should this escort arrive before Mr. Kirkpatrick does from Williamsburgh (whom I hourly expect), I must yet wait a little longer, he being left with all my accounts and papers to lay before the

committee, and were I to go up without him, it would put it out of my power to settle with the recruiting officers above, in order that I might make a final settlement with the committee below. The garrison at Fort Cumberland is barely manned. The rest are out on parties; yet the Indians continue to hunt the roads, and pick up straggling persons. This your Honor may see by the enclosed from Captain John Mercer, who, being out with a scouting party of one hundred men,

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26. Dinwiddie had reported that "the Assembly were greatly inflamed, being told that the greatest immoralities and drunkenness have been much countenanced and proper discipline neglected."—*Ford*.

I have ordered to search the Warm-Spring Mountain, where, it is lately reported, that the Indians rendezvous. The commission your Honor has sent for holding courts-martial is yet insufficient, as it is copied, (I suppose, too literally) after Governor Innes's, who had no power to hold a general court-martial, or to try commissioned officers, having none either to hold a court, or in short any to try. But this may be postponed until I come down, which will be in a short time after I arrive at Fort Cumberland. I am your Honor's, &c.

### To LORD FAIRFAX<sup>29</sup>

Winchester, April 19, 1756.

My Lord: The inclosed is the Copy of a Letter that came to my Hands by Express this Instant, which I send, in Hopes that your Lordship will give Orders for raising not only a part of the Militia of this County, but of the adjacent ones also, and that with the utmost Expedition; otherwise, it is uncertain how far the Enemy may attempt to pursue their Victory. I have consulted Colo. Innis and the Officers of my Regiment, who are unanimous in Opinion that the Men I have here, which are only 50, should be detained till they are reinforced by the Militia for the defence of the Town, as it is more than probable that the Enemy may extend their Designs to this place.

Notwithstanding I am sensible how much your Lordship will exert yourself on this Occasion, I can't help repeating that nothing but Dispatch can answer our present Purposes; for unless I can throw some Amunition into Edwards's Fort to Night, the Remainder of our Party and the Inhabitants that are there will more than probably fall a Sacrifice to the Indians, as the Bearer, who came off with the inclosed, assures Me that the Fort was surrounded, and that an Assault was expected to-Day.

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29. Thomas, the sixth Lord Fairfax, of Cameron (1693–1781), second child and eldest son of Thomas, fifth Lord Fairfax, and Catherine Culpeper, possessed by inheritance a large tract of land, estimated

to contain 5,200,000 acres, in what was called the Northern Neck of Virginia, between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers. He was the only British peer resident in America during the greater part of the eighteenth century. He came to Virginia in 1735 and established himself at Greenway Court, Frederick County, a few miles from Winchester.

I am Your Lordship's most ob'd't h'ble Serv't.

[V.H.S.]

### To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Winchester, April 19, 1756.

Honble. Sir: Since writing my Letter of Yesterday's date, the inclosd came to hand, by which your honr. will be informed of a very unlucky affair.<sup>27</sup>

I immediately consulted Colo. Innis, and such Officers of my own Regiment as were at this place, on the necessary steps to be taken. They unanimously advised, that I should remain here with the 50 Recruits that are in Town, for the defence of the place, till the Militia are raisd, that we may thereby compose a Formidable body, and march out against the Enemy. This engagemt. happened within 20 Miles of Winchester; and the Sergeant, who brought the letter, assures me that they have Reason to imagine, that their numbers are greater than the Letter informs. He says that there were many French amongst them, and that the chief part of the whole were mounted on Horses; so that there is great probability that they may have a design upon this place.

I have sent an express to Lord Fairfax, with a copy of Starke's Letter,<sup>28</sup> and wrote to him as your honour will see by the inclosd. to raise the Militia with all expedition: but alas! that is a poor resource, a very unhappy dependence! tho'

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27. A skirmish with the Indians at Edwards Fort, in which Capt. John Mercer and several of his party were killed.— *Sparks*.

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28. Starke's letter is not found in the *Washington Papers*.

our only one at present. I have not time to add more than that I shall endeavour to do the best I can till we have assistance and that I am etc.

[V.H.S.]

**To CAPTAIN HENRY HARRISON**

Winchester, April 19, 1756.

Sir: You are hereby Ordered to repair to Joseph Edward's Fort, and there to take upon you the command of all those different parties that are at that place. You are to use your utmost endeavours to protect the people, and be very circumspect in your conduct; taking care to do nothing without first advising with your Officers, and receiving their Counsel. You are to be very careful that you are not decoyed into any snares of the Enemy: And if you ever detach any parties from the Fort, be sure to cover their retreat; and, if possible, draw them between your Fires, by advancing a Body of men before your main Body; with Orders to retreat gradually between your parties, which you must have posted securely for that purpose. You must be very careful that no waste is made of the Ammunition; and that the men are not allowed to make random shot; but watch their opportunities to

fire sure. You are to be careful in transmitting me constant reports of the occurrences that may attend while there: and are to endeavour to keep a communication with the Detachment at Enoch's.

You are also, by any opportunities that shall offer, to send word to all such places as have men stationed; and to warn the Inhabitants to be on their Guard. You are strongly enjoined to be diligent and watchful; and use all previous measures to guard against a Surprise, either in the Fort or otherwise.

**To LIEUTENANT WILLIAM STARK**

April 20, 1756.

Sir: I received yours, dispatched last night by Express about two o'clock this morning. There is ammunition already sent up, but I send you more now. I hope ere this, Captain Harrison is safe arrived with you. Let him know it is my Orders, that he return the Horses he took up with him, per the first safe hand that is coming down: and that he transmit me constantly what intelligence he may receive.

I can scarcely give credit to any part of the Report you transmitted to me, from Captain Ashby. If Captain Harrison can, by good woods-men, get intelligence of the number of the Enemy, and their place of Rendezvous, if near your

Station. I would have them endeavour to surprize them in the night, by failing upon them at their sleeping places. Yours, &c.

## **To ENSIGN EDWARD HUBBARD**

April 20, 1756.

Sir: You will receive by the Bearer as much powder as I think will suffice: Ball, according to your own account, you have enough of. I am informed by the Bearer, that the Inhabitants at Enochs's (where your party it garrisoned) are desirous of moving. I would therefore recommend that you may, if you can convey them, and such Stores as are in your Custody, to retreat to Edwards's. If you find this impracticable; Captain Harrison is ordered to send a Sergeant and ten men, to strengthen you, from that place. You are to take care that it is sent for that purpose.

I expect in a very little time to have a number of men to relieve the Inhabitants on all the waters: But in case this should not be done; you must give to that poor distressed people, part of the provision which you have for the Garrison: and see that there is the greatest care and economy therein. I am, Sir, &c.

## **ORDERS**

Winchester, April 21, 1756.

Parole Oxford.

A Court Martial to sit immediately, to try those who were confined for being absent from their alarm-post last night. Captain Stewart, President.

I do hereby promise to any persons who engage now to go out as Volunteers, without any expectation of pay; that they shall be furnished with provision and ammunition from the public Stores, sufficient for the time they shall be upon the Scout. To draw the provision as soon as they are ready to March out.

**To LORD FAIRFAX**

Winchester, April 21, 1756.

My Lord: By several Expresses just arrived from the Officers and Inhabitants between this and Fort Cumberland, their situation seems most deplorable; for they have neither provision, nor a sufficient force at either place, to go out to collect any; and consequently, must run themselves into the jaws of the Enemy, or perish in their places with Hunger: and I dare believe your Lordship is sensible, that without a considerable Body of the Militia, the marching from this Town would be of the greatest ill consequence. For which reason I advise (if you have not already done it) you would send immediately to Culpeper, with Orders to raise and send such a number of men as you shall judge can be spared from thence; with such Arms, Ammunition, and provision as they can procure; for we are illy supplied with either here. I have wrote to the Commanding Officers of Prince William and Fairfax, desiring they would use their utmost endeavours in dispatching the Militia from these Counties: and beg you would renew your Orders to those Gentlemen, on that head. I am, my Lord, &c.

**To THE COMMANDING OFFICERS OF PRINCE WILLIAM AND FAIRFAX**

April 21, 1756.

Gentlemen: I have just now received several Expresses who bring the most shocking accounts of the distressed condition, not only of the few poor families that yet remain back of this place; but of the Rangers that Garrison the small Forts: as nothing but a large and speedy reinforcement can save them from utter destruction! I must desire that you will not lose one moment in drawing together all the men you can provide with Arms, Ammunition, and Provision, in the best manner the *time* will admit of; and join me with all imaginable expedition. And as this is an Affair of the last importance, I hope nothing in your power will be left undone. I am &c.

**To CAPTAIN HENRY HARRISON**

April 21, 1756.



Sir: It is out of my power at this junction to supply you with any Provision. Therefore I would have you apply to Edwards, to whom I write. Acquaint him, that whatever he expends, he shall receive a reasonable satisfaction for: and hint to him, that without his compliance

the Garrison now there, must depart to this place. You are likewise Ordered (on Mr. Hubbard, at Enocks, signifying his want of assistance in aiding his retreat to your Fort) to supply him with at least fifty of your Garrison, who will Escort *that* under his command to your place, where he is Ordered. Dispatch the enclosed letter, on arrival, by Express. I am &c.

### To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Winchester, April 22, 1756.

Honble. Sir: This encloses several letters, and the minutes of a council of war,<sup>30</sup> which was held upon the receipt of them. Your Honor may see to what unhappy straits the distressed inhabitants as well as I, am reduced. I am too little acquainted, Sir, with pathetic language, to attempt a description of the people's distresses, though I have a generous soul, sensible of wrongs, and swelling for redress. But what can I do? If bleeding, dying! would glut their insatiate revenge, I would be a willing offering to savage fury, and die by inches to save a people! I see their situation, know their danger, and participate their sufferings, without having it in my power to give them further relief, than uncertain promises. In short, I see inevitable destruction in so clear a light, that, unless vigorous measures are taken by the Assembly, and speedy assistance sent from below, the poor inhabitants that are now in forts, must unavoidably fall, while the remainder of the country are flying before the barbarous foe. In fine, the melancholy situation of the people, the little prospect of assistance, the gross and scandalous abuses cast upon the officers in general, which is reflecting upon me in particular, for suffering misconducts of such extraordinary kinds, and the distant prospects, if any, that I can see, of gaining honor and reputation in the service, are motives which

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30. These minutes are in the *Washington Papers*. The question was whether to march against the enemy with the small force at Winchester and Fort Edwards or to remain at Winchester. The decision was to remain.

cause me to lament the hour, that gave me a commission, and would induce me, at any other time than this of imminent danger, to resign without one hesitating moment, a command, which I never expect to reap either honor or benefit from; but, on the contrary, have almost an absolute certainty

of incurring displeasure below, while the murder of poor innocent babes and helpless families may be laid to my account here !

The supplicating tears of the women, and moving petitions from the men, melt me into such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease.

Lord Fairfax has ordered men from the adjacent counties, but when they will come, or in what numbers, I cannot pretend to determine. If I may judge from the success we have met with here, I have but little hopes, as three days' incessant endeavours have produced but twenty men.

I have too often urged my opinion for vigorous measures, therefore I shall only add, that, besides the accounts you will receive in the letters, we are told from all parts, that the woods

appear to be alive with Indians, who feast upon the fat of the land. As we have not more than a barrel or two of powder at this place, the rest being at Fort Cumberland, I could wish your Honor would send up some. I have wrote to Alexandria and Fredericksburg, desiring that two barrels may be sent from each place, but whether there is any at either, I know not. I have sent orders to Captain Harrison to be diligent on the waters where he is posted, and to use his utmost endeavours to protect the people; and, if possible, to surprise the enemy at their sleeping-places. Ashby's letter is a very extraordinary one.<sup>31</sup> The design of the Indians was only, in my opinion, to intimidate him into a surrender. For which reason I have wrote him word, that if they do attack him, he must defend that place to the last extremity, and when he is bereft of hope, then to lay a train to blow up the fort, and retire by night to Cumberland. A small fort, which we have at the mouth of Patterson's Creek, containing an officer and thirty men guarding stores, was attacked smartly by the French and Indians; and were as warmly received, upon which they retired. Our men at present are dispersed into such small bodies, guarding the people and public stores, that we are not able to make, or even form a body. I am your Honor's, &c.<sup>32</sup>

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31. Capt. John Ashby wrote from his fort (April 15) that 400 Indians had demanded file surrender of his fort; 1,500 had gone to Fort Cumberland and 2,000 to the Juniata. The letter, an extract of which is printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 1, p, 221, was written to Col. Henry Van Meter.

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32. The governor, on receiving this letter, immediately ordered out one-half of the militia in 10 of the upper counties. Colonel Fairfax, one of the council, wrote to Colonel Washington (April 26): "The House of Burgesses are pleased with the Governor's orders, and depend on your vigilance and success. Your endeavours in the service and defence of your country must redound to your

honor; therefore do not let any unavoidable interruptions sicken your mind in the attempts you may pursue. Your good health and fortune are the toast at every table. Among the Romans, such a general acclamation and public regard, shown to any of their chieftains, were always esteemed a high honor, and gratefully accepted."

Landon Carter also wrote as follows: "Virginia has been a neglected Colony by the mother country, and had there been a more active king on the throne of France, they must have made a conquest of it long ago. Should we talk of obliging men to serve the country, you are sure to hear a fellow mumble over the words 'liberty' and 'proerty' a thousand times. Sir, I think as you do. I have endeavoured, though not on the field, yet in the senate, as much as possible to convince the country of danger, and they know it; but like stingy creatures they are willing to wait for rains to wet the powder, and rats to eat the bow-strings of the enemy, rather than attempt to drive them from their frontiers."

These letters are printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 1, pp. 230, 234.

## **To CAPTAIN HENRY HARRISON**

April 23, 1756.

Sir: It has been determined here in a Council of War, that it would be most advisable for you to repair to this place; as a small party would defend Edwards's Fort.

In consequence of which you are hereby ordered to proceed (as soon as you are joined by Ensign Hubbards party) to this place: and escort such of the inhabitants as are willing to come to this place. You must acquaint the people at Homers' Fort, that you are coming down with a party; and that if they choose to come with you, you will escort them here, or to Edwards's. If they agree to this you must detach a party to escort them to Edwards's. You are to have a Subaltern, two Sergenats, and twenty-five rank and file, at Edwards's Fort; unless the inhabitants desire to come down here. If so, you are to take them under escort: and must take care, if they insist upon leaving the Fort, to destroy it; as you must that at Homers, if the inhabitants come off. With the rest you are to proceed here, after complying with your other Orders. You must bring down the Waggons and Horses that are there; and must call at Captain Smiths, and bring down what Stores belonging to the Country, are at that place.

I would recommend it to the inhabitants if they come off, to bring their Cattle, &c.

with them.

### **To ENSIGN EDWARD HUBBARD**

April 23, 1756.

Sir: It has been determined here in a Council of War, that it would be most advisable for you to evacuate your Fort at Enocks's; destroy it, and join Captain Harrison at Edwards's, with your Party, stores, and the inhabitants. As we are not acquainted with their situation at Cox's, it was thought best that you should send the Sergeant there, a conditional Order to join you at Enocks's, or keep possession where he is (which ever he and the Inhabitants, from the situation of affairs, think most advisable;) until we can send them some assistance, which will, I hope, be very soon; as I expect to be joined by a number of men shortly.

You are to send him this Order immediately. If he retreats to your party, you must order him to destroy the Fort, ere he quits the place.

I would recommend it to the Inhabitants, to drive down their Cattle, &c. with them. Yours, etc.

### **To ROBERT DINWIDDIE**

Winchester, April 24, 1756.

Honble. Sir: Not an hour, nay scarcely a minute, passes, that does not produce fresh alarms and melancholy accounts. So that I am distracted what to do! Nor is it possible for me to give the people the necessary assistance for their defence, upon account of the small number of men we have, or is likely to be here for some time. The inhabitants are removing daily, and in a short time will leave this county as desolate as Hampshire, where scarce a family lives!

Three families were murdered the night before last, at the distance of less than twelve miles from this place; and every day we have accounts of such cruelties and barbarities, as are shocking to human nature. Nor is it possible to conceive the situation and

danger of this miserable county. Such numbers of French and Indians are all around, no road is safe to travel; and *here* we know not the hour how soon we may be attacked.

But as it is not in my power to give your Honor a full account of every thing, I have sent Captain Peachey to wait upon you, who can be more ample and satisfactory in every point, that requires your Honor's notice. I have written for the militia of Fairfax, Prince William, and Culpeper, and expect them here in a few days. But how they are to be supplied with ammunition and provision, I am quite at a loss. The distance of Fort Cumberland from us, where these supplies are, renders them useless, in a manner, and puts us to the greatest straits; and the inhabitants leaving their farms, will make it impossible for the militia to subsist without provisions, which are *now* very scarce, and will be more so. I should therefore be glad your Honor would send arms, ammunition and provisions up, and give immediate orders for the Irish beef at Alexandria, which cannot be had without your consent.

Your Honor spoke of sending some Indians to our assistance, in

which no time should be lost, nor means omitted to engage all the Catawbias and Cherokees, that can possibly be gathered together and immediately despatched hither. For without Indians to oppose Indians, we may expect but small success. And I should think it no bad scheme, (while the Indians remain here in such numbers,) to have a detachment sent out with some friendly Indians to make an attempt upon their towns,—though this should be executed with all imaginable secrecy.

I hear the Assembly are for augmenting the forces (in pay) to fifteen hundred, which are far too few to defend the frontiers against so numerous an enemy. But I have often wrote you my sentiments upon this and other subjects, so shall not now enlarge. I have also written to the Speaker by Captain Peachey, who will, I imagine, communicate to your Honor what demands your immediate regard.

I wish your Honor would resolve me, whether the militia that are expected here must be supplied out of the public stocks of provisions laid in for the soldiers, or if they are to find themselves? The want of due direction in matters of this nature causes great inconvenience. Give me leave to urge your Honor's speedy care of sending men and ammunition to our assistance, else the consequences may prove very fatal in a little time.

I have been just now informed, that

numbers about the neighbourhood hold councils and cabals to very dishonorable purposes, and unworthy the thoughts of a British subject. Despairing of assistance and protection from below (as they foolishly conjecture), they talk of capitulating and coming upon terms with the French and Indians, rather than lose their lives and fortunes through obstinacy. My force, at present, is very weak, and unable to take the necessary measures, with those suspected; but, as soon as the militia

arrive, be assured I will do my utmost to detect and secure such pests of society, if my information is not groundless, which I should be glad to find so.

I enclose your Honor a copy of a council of war lately held here,<sup>33</sup> and copies of some letters since my last to you; one of which, for Colonel Martin, was just sent to me from Fort Hopewell, on the South Branch. They have had an engagement there, with the French and Indians, the particulars of which you will see by the enclosed. Captain Waggener, with a party of his men, joined them next day, and went in pursuit of the enemy, but could not come up with them. The waters were so high, that although Captain Waggener heard them engaged, he could send them no assistance. From these and

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33. The proceedings of this council of war, dated Apr. 23, 1756, are in the *Washington Papers*. It was determined that Enoch's Fort should be abandoned and destroyed, and all of the garrison that could be spared from Fort Edwards should march to Winchester.

other circumstances, you may form but a faint idea of the wretched and unhappy situation of this county, nor can it be conceived.

My extreme hurry, confusion, and anxiety must plead an excuse for incorrectness, &c. I am your Honor's, &c.

**To JOHN ROBINSON**

Winchester, April 24, 1756.

Dear Sir: Yesterday I received yours by Mr. Kirkpatrick,<sup>34</sup> and am sorry to hear the reflections upon the conduct of the officers. I could wish that their names had been particularized, that justice might be done to the innocent and guilty! for it is extremely hard, that the whole corps should suffer the most ungentle reproaches for the inadvertence and misconduct of a few.<sup>35</sup>

The deplorable situation of this people is no more to be described, than my anxiety and uneasiness for their relief. And I see in so clear a light the inevitable destruction of this county without immediate assistance, that I cannot look forward but with the most poignant sorrow.

You may expect, by the time this comes to hand, that, without a considerable reinforcement, Frederick county will not be mistress of fifteen families. They are now retreating to the securest parts in droves of fifties. In short, every thing has too melancholy an appearance

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34. John Kirkpatrick, of Alexandria, who was Washington's secretary.

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35. For the orders Washington issued in a further attempt to enforce discipline, see Orders, May 1, *post*.

for pen to communicate. I have therefore sent an officer, whose good sense and judicious observations will be a more effectual way of transmitting an account of the people's distresses.

I wish the Assembly had given two thousand men, instead of fifteen hundred, and that I had been acquainted with the dispositions they intended to make. Since I am ignorant of *this*, I hope it will not be thought presuming when I offer my sentiments upon the subject.

We are, Sir, first to consider, that if a chain of forts is to be erected upon our frontiers, it is done with a design to protect the people. Therefore, if these forts are more than fifteen and eighteen miles, or a day's march, asunder, and garrisoned with less than eighty or an hundred men each, the intention is lost, and for these reasons. 1st, if they are at greater distances, it is inconvenient for the soldiers to scout, and allows the enemy to pass between without being easily discovered, and when discovered so soon pursued. And secondly, if they are garrisoned with less than eighty or an hundred men, the number is too few to afford detachments. Then, again, our frontiers are so extensive, that, were the enemy to attack us on the one side, before the troops on the other could get to their

assistance, they might overrun and destroy half the country. And it is more than probable, if they had a design upon the first, they would make a feint upon the other. Then we are to consider what sums the building of twenty forts would cost, and the removing stores and provisions to each, and in the last place, we are to consider where and when this expense is to end. For, if we do not endeavour to remove the cause, we are liable to the same incursions seven years hence as now, if the war continues, and they are allowed to remain on Ohio.

I shall next give the reasons, which I think make for a defensive plan. If the neighbouring colonies refuse us their assistance, we have neither strength or abilities or ourselves to conduct an expedition; or, if we had, and were the whole to join us, I do not see to what purpose, since we have neither a train of artillery, artillery-men, engineers, &c, to execute any scheme beyond the mountains against a regular fortress. Again, we have not, that I can see, either stores or provisions, arms or ammunition, wagons or horses, in any degree proportioned to the service; and to undertake

an affair, where we are sure to fall through, would be productive of the worst consequences, and another defeat would entirely lose us the interest of every Indian.

If, then, we cannot act offensively with a prospect of success, we must be upon the defensive; and that there is no way to protect the people, or save ourselves (but by a

chain of forts, is evidently certain.

I would beg leave, in that case, to propose that there should be a strong fort erected at this place, for a general receptacle of all the stores, &c, and a place of residence for the commanding officers, to be garrisoned with one company for the security of the stores, and to serve as escorts for all wagons, that are going higher up, because it is the most public and most convenient for intelligence of any in the country, and the most convenient to the part that will ever be attacked by *numbers*, it lying directly on the road to Fort Duquisne, from whence, and their Indian allies, who are still up higher, we have the greatest reason to apprehend danger. It also lies convenient to the inhabitants for raising the militia when occasion requires.

I have found by experience, that being just within the inhabitants is absolutely necessary to give orders for the defence of the people; and that Fort Cumberland is of no more use towards the defence of the country, than Fort George at Hampton, and know as little what is doing. For the people so soon as they are alarmed, immediately fly inwards, and at this time there is not an inhabitant living between here and Fort Cumberland, except a few settlements

upon the Manor about a fort we built there, and a few families at Edward's, on Cacapehon, with a guard of ours, which makes this very town at present the outmost frontiers, and though a place trifling in itself, is yet of the utmost importance, as it commands the communication from east to west, as well as from north to south, for at this place do almost all the roads center, and secures the great roads of one half of our frontiers to the markets of the neighbouring colonies, as well as to those on Rappahannock and Potomack &c. At Fort Cumberland I would have one company garrisoned to secure the place, to procure the earliest intelligence, and to cover all detachments that may be sent towards the Ohio, which is all the use it can ever be of. In the next place, I would propose, that a good fort should be erected between this and Fort Cumberland, which shall be in a line with the chain of forts across the country, and be garrisoned with two companies. This I would advise, because, as I before observed, if we are ever attacked by a large body, it must be here, as they have no other road to our frontiers, either to transport men or necessaries.



These three forts that I have already spoken of will employ four companies, which will be a tolerable body, if the companies are large, which they would be, according to the scheme I sent you. And it would be a trifling expense to augment each company to one hundred privates, which will

make two thousand, exclusive of officers, which were included in the scheme last sent.

After this is done, I would post the remaining companies equidistant, or at proper passes, along our frontiers, agreeable to the enclosed sketch, and order communications to be opened between fort and fort, and large detachments scouting between to discover the tracts of the enemy.

And now, sir, one thing to add, which requires the Assembly's attention, and that is, what vale, or upon what part of our frontiers these forts are to be built? For I am to tell you that the Great Ridge or North Mountain, so called in Evans's map, to which I refer, is now become our exterior bound, there not being one inhabitant beyond that on all the Potomack waters, except a few families on the South Branch, and at Joseph Edwards's, on Cacapehon, (which I have already mentioned,) guarded by a party of ours. So that it requires some consideration to determine whether we are to build near this to protect the present inhabitants; or on the South Branch, or Patterson's Creek, in the hopes of drawing back those, who have forsaken their dwellings,

If we do not build there, that country will ever want settlers; and if we *do*, there is so great a blank, with such a series of mountains between, that it will be

next to impossible to guard the people effectually. I could again wish, that the Assembly had given two thousand men, exclusive of officers, to be formed into two battalions of ten companies each, with four field officers. Indeed, fifteen hundred men are a greater number than ever was in a regiment of only one battalion, and they should be divided into two, with four field-officers, who should be posted so as to have the immediate care of a certain number of forts, with orders to draw from one to another, as occasion should require.<sup>36</sup>

I could add more on this subject, but am so hurried, that I am obliged to refer for further particulars to the bearer, who will tell you, that, to carry on all these works, a number of tools, as well as many other necessaries, will be absolutely wanting.

I have given my opinion with candor, and submit to correction with the greatest pleasure. Confusion and hurry must apologize for the incoherence and incorrectness hereof. I am, dear Sir, yours, &c.

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36. Governor Dinwiddie had formed a project of a much more extensive chain of forts, embracing the whole line of frontier from Crown Point to the country of the Creek Indians. This project he

communicated to the board of trade on February 23. A peculiar feature of this plan was, that the expenses of erecting and supporting these forts should be provided for by a land and poll tax, to be levied by an act of Parliament, which should take effect equally throughout all the Colonies. He proposed a poll tax of 1 shilling sterling for two years, which he thought would be sufficient for building the forts; and a perpetual land tax of 2 shillings on every hundred acres of land, as a fund for keeping up the garrison. "I know," he adds, "that our people will be inflamed, if they hear of my making this proposal, as they are averse to all taxes; but in my duty, and in obedience to your commands, I cannot but think it the most eligible, and it will remain as long as the land; but, if not done by an act of the British Parliament, I may venture to affirm, that no governors on this continent will be able to prevail on the Assemblies to pass laws for this purpose." By his calculation there were at least a million of taxable polls in the Colonies. Hence this tax would produce £50,000 a year. And the land tax, estimated by the quit rents paid in Virginia, he believed would yield annually £60,000. The population of Virginia he considered at this time to be 293,472, of whom 173,316 were white and 120,156 black. The militia were computed at 35,000 men fit to bear arms. The governor wrote to Mr. Fox, one of the secretaries of state; "We dare not venture to part with any of our white men any distance, as we must have a watchful eye over our negro slaves, who are upwards of one hundred thousand."— *Sparks*.

#### **To CAPTAIN DAVID BELL**

April 25, 1756.

Sir: As the roads at present are so much infested, I do not think it safe to send the things you wrote for until another opportunity. I must desire that you will be very diligent, and guard against a Surprise from the Enemy, as they will certainly attack you, if they find it possible to surprise you.

You are to detach Ensign Crawford with twenty men, to reconnoitre the Country towards Hires, on Opekon; and towards Bullskin, or wherever he finds these Inhabitants have retired to: He is to act rather as a reconnoitring party, than as an Offensive one. Yours &c.

#### **To CAPTAIN HENRY HARRISON**

April 26, 1756.

Sir: If you receive this before you leave Edward's, I would have you proceed with a Detachment of yours, in your way to

this, by Darby McIvers, who, with his Servant, &c. is killed by the Enemy. And endeavour, if the Bearer can shew you their bodies, to have them Buried.

You must endeavour to bring off the Cattle, &c. of the Inhabitants about there if possible, if you do not hear that the Enemy are too strong in that Quarter for you to make an attempt of this kind. If you should get intelligence that they are; I would have you proceed here with your party, without regard to these Orders. Make all the dispatch you possibly can to this place; as I wait your arrival with great impatience. Yours &c.

**To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN**

Winchester, April 26, 1756.

Sir: I received your several Letters yesterday, and am very glad to hear that all our Garrisons are safe. We every day expect very strong reinforcements and as soon as they arrive, shall scour all the woods between this and Fort Cumberland: and put what is possible to spare into the Garrisons: But, until I have effected the first plan, can not possibly join you; as it would be of the worst consequence to leave the Enemy, who have now burnt, killed, and destroyed every thing they fell in with, even as low as Opekon

in the heart of this County, to proceed to that Fort. I must desire you will be very diligent; and send your Orders to the other Garrisons oft as you see occasion. Yours &c.

**To GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE**

Winchester, April 27, 1756.

Sir: I sent an express to Fort Cumberland on Tuesday last, who is just returned with the enclosed letters, which I send, to prevent the trouble of extracting a part.

In my letter to Colonel Stephen, I did among other things inform him of the accusations laid to his charge, and that he must expect to have the matter inquired into. Your Honor will see what he says upon the subject.<sup>38</sup>

Desolation and murder still increase, and no prospects of relief. The Blue Ridge is now our frontier, no men being left in this county, except a few that keep close with a number of women and children in forts, which they have erected for that purpose. There are now no militia in this county; when there were, they could

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38. Dinwiddie's answer (May 3) was characteristic: "I observe Colo. Stephen's Letters vindicating his character, and I hope the Reports were without Foundation and in course malicious."

not be brought to action. If the inhabitants of the adjacent counties pursue the same system of disobedience, the whole must fall an inevitable sacrifice; and there is room to fear, they have caught the infection, since I have sent (besides divers letters to Lord Fairfax,) express after express to hurry them on, and yet have no tidings of their march. We have the greatest reason in life to believe, that the number of the enemy is very considerable, as they are spread all over this part of the country; and that their success, and the spoils with which they have enriched themselves, dished up with a good deal of French policy, will encourage the Indians of distant nations to fall upon our inhabitants in greater numbers, and, if possible, with greater rapidity. They enjoy the sweets of a profitable war, and will no doubt improve the success, which ever must attend their arms, without we have Indians to oppose theirs. I would therefore advise, as I often have done, that there should be neither trouble nor expense omitted to bring the few, who are still inclined, into our service, and that, too, with the greatest care and expedition. A small number, just to point out the wiles and tracks of the enemy, is better than none; for which reason I must earnestly recommend, that those, who accompanied Major Lewis, should be immediately sent up, and such of the Catawbias as can be engaged in our interest. If such another torrent as this has been, (or may be ere it is done,)

should press upon our settlements, there will not be a living creature left in Frederick county; and how soon Fairfax and Prince William may share its fate is easily conceived, if we only consider a cruel and bloodthirsty enemy, conquerors already possessed of the finest part of Virginia, plenteously filled with all kinds of provision, pursuing a people filled with fear and consternation at the inhuman murders of these barbarous savages!

I have exerted every means that I could think of, to quiet the minds of these unhappy people: but, for a man to have inclination, and not power, he may as well be without either, for the assistance he can give.

The inhabitants of the county, who are now in forts, are greatly distressed for the want of ammunition and provision, and are incessantly importuning me for both; neither of which have I at this place to spare. And if I had, I should be much embarrassed how to act. I could not be safe in delivering either without your orders; and to hear the cries of the hungry, who have fled for refuge to these places, with nothing more than they carry on their backs, is exceedingly moving. Therefore I hope, your Honor will give directions concerning this matter.

I have wrote to the Assembly,

setting forth the great and absolute necessity there is of erecting a large and strong fort at this place, to serve as a receptacle for all our stores, &c., and a place of refuge for the women and children in times of danger. Was this necessary work completed, the men would, upon any alarm, (as they say themselves,) immediately lodge their families here, and turn out against the enemy. But without some such place of defence, they must always fly in the manner they have, in order to secure their wives and children!

This is the place generally fixed upon, as it has a free and open communication with all the country, from its central situation. It also secures the communication with the neighbouring colonies, as well as the trade, to the rivers of Rappahannock, Potomack, &c., and, though trifling in itself, a place of the utmost importance to the country in general, being contiguous to that part of our frontiers (but alas! this is the utmost frontiers at present) which ever must, if any, sustain the attack of numbers, as it is the nearest to Fort Duquisne, to which place we have opened a free communication. It is also contiguous to their Indian allies, who are at present higher up the Ohio than themselves. It is also conveniently situated for procuring the earliest intelligence, when the enemy is about, and to obtain relief from the militia below. In short it would be needless to urge all the cogent reasons that plead in its behalf, and shew how conveniently situated it is for the commanding

officer to reside at. But one I shall add, which alone would be sufficient, and that is what I have before observed, viz., the procuring intelligence. This I now am truly sensible of, from the experience I have had since I came to this place. Since the first murders were committed by the Indians, I have never missed of receiving intelligence of their motions; while Colonel Stephen has, in a manner, lived in total ignorance thereof. The reason is very obvious; for Fort Cumberland is detached so far without the inhabitants, no person thinks of alarming them, but immediately, upon the first fright, retire into the inhabitants. And secondly, it is absolutely necessary to have one large magazine to supply the different forts with stores, &c. which magazine should be rather within the inhabitants, for the greater security in receiving and delivering them out again, and furnishing any reinforcements that may arrive from below, with provision, ammunition, &c. which will always

facilitate their march. There should also be ammunition lodged here for supplying the country people when found useful.

Your Honor will observe some parts of Colonel Stephen's letters, as about reinforcements from the second division, and

the number of men, &c., which were only finesses in case the letters had fallen into the enemy's hands. The letters, that conveyed the true accounts, were put into the pommel of the saddle, as were mine to him.

I have been formerly, and am at present, pretty full in offering my opinion and counsel upon matters, which regard the public safety and interest. And that have been solely the object of all my thoughts, words, and actions; and, in order to avoid censure in every part of my conduct, I make it a rule to obey the dictates of your Honor, the Assembly, and a good conscience.

I shall not hereafter trouble you further on these topics, as I can add nothing to what I have said. I am your Honor's, &c.

**To JOHN ROBINSON**

Winchester, April 27, 1756.

Dear Sir: In my last I omitted to observe one thing touching the defence of our frontiers by a chain of forts, and it is this:

If the province of Maryland makes no provision for its frontiers, we shall have a long, unguarded space quite open and defenceless from Wills Creek to the mouth of Shanandoah, where the enemy may have, and have already

given proof of, free egress and regress in crossing Potowmack; plundering, burning, murdering and destroying all before them. It is matter of moment, and worthy the Assembly's notice. For we must secure that weak side, if our neighbours are so indifferent as to disregard their own safety, because of its connexion with ours. In this case the number of forts will be increased to two or three more. Another material point to be regarded by the Assembly, and of very great importance to the inhabitants, is the situation of these forts intended along the frontiers. As I mentioned to you before, that placing them on the former outmost frontier, would be of small service to defend the present frontier settlements, now so remote from the former.

For the enemy would still make incursions, and carry off their booty with impunity, without a considerable number of men posted at these forts constantly patrolling in order to interrupt them. And without such defence and protection, the people will never be induced to return again to their plantations.

Again, if the forts are built upon the present exterior settlements, the former lands will remain unsettled: nor need we expect that the inhabitants will extend their improvements beyond these forts, while such disturbances continue.

I would again urge the necessity of a large and strong fort at this town<sup>37</sup> for very cogent reasons, as I hinted in my former, it being the center of all the public roads, and a place of the most importance on the frontiers. I would advise its being large, as it will be the sole refuge for the inhabitants upon any alarm, where they may be received and protected until they can return with safety to their plantations. And as it must be the magazine of stores, to supply many other forts, the country and soldiers with provisions, ammunition, &c., it ought, of consequence, to be large and pretty strong.

Had such a place of defence been here, it would have hindered some hundreds of families from moving further than this, that are now lost to the county. The women and children might have been secure, while the men would have gone in a body against the savages, whereas the number of men now left is so small, that no resistance or defence can be made to any purpose. Winchester is now the farthest boundary of this county,—no inhabitants beyond it: and if measures are not taken to maintain it, we must retire below the Blue Ridge in a very short time.

Let me therefore recommend to yours and the Assembly's particular care, that no time be lost in this salutary proposal: for should this panic and fear continue, not a soul will be left on this side the Ridge: and what now remain, are collected in small forts (out of which there is no prevailing on them to stir) and every plantation deserted.

I have exerted every power for the

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37. The fort ordered to be built at Winchester was named Fort Loudoun. It was erected from a plan drawn by Washington, which is in the *Washington Papers*, in the Library of Congress.

protection and peace of this distressed, unhappy people, and used my utmost to persuade them to continue, until assistance come, though to little effect. I have repeatedly urged Lord Fairfax to send for the militia of the adjacent counties, and have sent myself several expresses to hurry them on.

If the Assembly approve the scheme of erecting a fort here and at other places, tools of all kinds will be wanting, and must be sent up immediately, that no time may be lost. Carpenters from below should likewise be engaged; and every proper method for dispatching so desirable and so general a good, as this defence for Frederick, &c.

I have now and formerly been very full upon these Topics, which I thought most conducive to the good of the Country; and have had no other point in view but the Public interest, in all my advices, my actions, and intentions: and would chuse to avoid censure in every part of my conduct, by acting agreeable to the directions of the Assembly, the Governour, and a good conscience. So shall not for the future trouble you further on this subject. Yours etc.

## **ORDERS**

Winchester, April 29, 1756.

Parole Xerxes.

Colonel Washington Orders, that no Officer presume on any pretence whatever, to impress any Horse, &c. without first applying to him for a warrant or order. And as complaint has been made, that the Soldiers do take horses without leave; He desires the Officers to be very careful, that no such thing is done for the future: and to warn the Soldiers, that they shall be severely punished, if it can be proved upon any of them hereafter.

## **ORDERS**

Winchester, May 1, 1756.

Parole Augusta.

A Return to be given in immediately of the whole number of men of the Virginia Regiment now in this Town; and those that are fit for Duty.

## **ORDERS**

[Winchester, May 2, 1756.]



A Return to be given in immediately of the Detachments from Fort Cumberland, Cocke's and Ashby's Forts; by the Officers; of what necessities the men want, which will be delivered them immediately. They are also to return the number of men each of those Officers has under command; and they shall receive a months' pay for each man.

The General Court Martial, whereof Captain Stewart was president, is dissolved.

Colonel Washington has approved of the sentence of the said Court martial, which was unanimous in opinion, that Lieutenant Lomax was not guilty of neglect of Duty; and that he remained in the Fort in consequence of his Orders; and that his conduct is not culpable.

A General Court Martial, to consist of four Captains and five Subalterns, to sit immediately for trial of Sergeant Nathaniel Lewis; for retreating with a party without Orders. And those men, confined for throwing away their Arms in the retreat of the party, defeated on the eighteenth of April last, near Edwards's Fort.

Captain Woodward, President: who is to wait on Colonel Washington for his Orders.

Mr. Kirkpatrick, Judge Advocate.

All Evidences to attend.

## **EVENING ORDERS**

Winchester, May 3, 1756.

The General Court Martial, whereof Captain Stewart was President, is dissolved.

Colonel Washington approves of the Sentence of the Court; was unanimous in opinion, that Sergeant Nathan Lewis, for his misbehaviour, in running away with his Party, should suffer Death.

The three eldest Captains, eight Subalterns, ten Sergeants, one Drummer, and an hundred Rank and File, to hold themselves in readiness to march to morrow morning upon a Scout.

The Officers to examine the mens arms and ammunition; and see that they are in good order; and are completed with Cartridges. This command to draw two days provision more to-night.

The Captains for this command to see that these Orders are punctually complied with.

Of the Fairfax Militia one hundred men must march tomorrow for the South Branch; under two Captains and four Subalterns; and to receive their Orders from Colonel Washington. The remainder of the Fairfax Militia, and the Company of Volunteers, under Captain John Dalton;

are to join the above party, ordered to Scout.

### **To CAPTAIN ROBERT STEWART**

Winchester, May 3, 1756.

Sir: You are Hereby Ordered to repair to Maidstone, the place where your Troop is Quartered; and remain there until further Orders.

You are to hold a Court Martial for punishing the ring-leading mutineers of your Troop.

You will receive two hundred and sixty-four pounds, eighteen shillings and a penny, for payment of your own Troop, and the other Detachments at that place. And you are to see that the Officers make you out regular pay-rolls for their men; before you deliver the money: And are to Order them to take two Receipts from each man; as directed in a former Order.

You are also desired, to settle the Recruiting Accompts. of those Officers that are now at Maidstone: and to acquaint them who fall in debt to the Country; that the Committee have ordered me to stop their pay, until the respective Sums are discharged; and I must desire that you will do it.

You are to Order the Officers

to make all the usual deductions from the mens pay; and to keep them for the Paymaster. You are also to desire that the Officers will see that their men lay out their pay in necessaries; and not foolishly spend it.

You are also to desire that they will stop the prices of such necessaries as the men may have had, over and above their allowances. And pay no men, Sergeants and Corporals pay, but such as have actually been regularly appointed at Fort Cumberland.

You must be very diligent in sending out reconnoitring parties to scour the Woods; and use your utmost endeavours to protect the people in those parts.

**To ROBERT DINWIDDIE**

Winchester, May 3, 1756.

Honble. Sir: I received your two letters of the 23d and 26th ultimo.

I have sent down an Indian scalp, which was taken off at the place where Captain Mercer had his engagement. He was found thrust under some rocks, and stones piled up against them. They have reason to believe there were more killed, from the quantity of blood found on the ground where the Indians fired from, and from other discoveries of their attempts to make more graves. But a hard shower of rain prevented their making a farther search.

We have some reason to believe, the Indians are returned to Fort Duquisne, as some scouts from Fort Cumberland saw their tracts that way; and many corroborating accounts affirm, that the roads over the Allegany Mountains are as much beaten, as they were last year by General Braddock's army. From these and other circumstances we may judge their numbers were considerable. Whether they are gone for the season, or only to bring in a larger party, I am at a loss to determine.

For which reason, and from the scarcity of provisions on this side Fort Cumberland, I must beg leave humbly to offer it to your Honor's superior judgment, if it would not be advisable to stop all the militia, that are ordered from the ten counties, save about five or six hundred from the adjacent ones? which will serve to cover our frontiers on this quarter, which is the only part that ever will or can be much exposed,) until the regiment is completed by draughts and until they can erect fortresses, if the country intend a chain of forts for their defence. fence. Draughts, if they are judiciously

chosen, will be of infinitely more service, and much less expense to the country, and can be immediately put to their posts.

I am convinced, if your Honor has a mind to stop any part of the militia, you will have full time, notwithstanding they are ordered to rendezvous at this place on the 10th instant. I never knew any yet to appear in ten days after they were expected; and I am also apprehensive, that having so many of the militia out will be the means of retarding the draughts, which, above all things, I wish to see.

Though I have often troubled you on this head, I must again beg leave to desire your particular instructions and information, of what is to be done, as, being in a state of uncertainty, without knowing the plan of operations, or what scheme to go upon, reduces me to the greatest straits, and leaves me to *guess* at every thing. Orders, that are absolutely necessary to be despatched to the officers one day, appear the next as necessary to be contradicted; so that I really cannot tell how to act for the good of the service, or satisfaction of any individual. Was the regiment complete, and things put on a proper footing, the whole would go on smoothly and regularly, which is now rendered impossible. So much am I kept in the dark, that I do not know whether to prepare for the offensive or defensive; and what might be absolutely necessary in the one, would be quite useless in the other.

Great inconveniences arise from our being so dispersed through the country. The men cannot be regularly paid or supplied. If every company had its proper post assigned, pay might be sent to them, and necessaries always provided in due season. We could also have the same advantages were we collected in one place. But there are so many detachments out, one officer may command men of every company of the regiment, t, and if necessaries are sent them he is removed from his command, and those things cannot be stopped out of their pay. So by this method the country loses money, the men are badly supplied, and always discontented.

I find the act of Assembly against mutiny and desertion quite insufficient, except in those two particular crimes. There is no notice, nor can a court-martial be held, by virtue of this act against any officer or soldier who is charged with cowardice, holding correspondence with the enemy, quitting or sleeping upon a post, nay, many other crimes, which are provided against in the articles of war. I think, at this time, it would be for the good of the service to make an

act to enforce the articles of war in general, except two or three particular ones, such as impressing wagons, &c. They are in force in our mother country. They think them the best calculated for keeping soldiers under discipline; and none of them would prove burthensome, or inconvenient, either to the public or any individual and I cannot, nor I imagine few others can assign any reason, why we should pretend to quit *that* which by long experience has been found the best, to introduce one quite insufficient.

There are now in town about one hundred and fifty of the Fairfax militia. Three hundred are expected from Prince William. With the soldiers and militia now here, I intend to go out and scour the woods hereabouts for three or four days until the others arrive.

I want very much to go to Fort Cumberland to regulate affairs there, but fear I cannot spare time, as my presence will be very necessary here.

Clothes for the men are very much wanted. There are none in store, and some men, who have been enlisted these two months, to whom we could give nothing but a blanket, shoes, and shirt, are justly dissatisfied at having two pence per day stopped from them.<sup>53</sup> Provision here is scarce, and the commissary much wanted to lay in more. I have been, and still am, obliged to do this duty, as well as most others, which I would take upon me, rather than let any thing be wanting for the good of the country, which I *could* do.

I enclose your Honor the

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53. The soldiers were paid 8 pence a day. Out of this amount 2 pence a day were reserved for supplying them with clothes. (See Washington's letter to Alexander Boyd, Nov. 1, 1755, *ante*.)

sentence of a general court-martial, which was held here upon a sergeant for running away with his party.<sup>54</sup> They have, I think, very justly adjudged him to suffer death, which sentence I hope you will approve of as there never was a fitter object to make an example of, being the second time he has been guilty of the same crime, nor a better time, as the newly draughted recruits for the regiment may be here by that time to see it executed, and it will be a good warning to them...<sup>55</sup>

## ORDERS

Winchester, May 4, 1756.

Parole Dartmouth.

As Colonel Washington has received certain advice of the Militia of some of the adjacent Counties, being on their march near this place.

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54. Nathan Lewis, who had shown his cowardice in the affair at Edwards Fort in which John Mercer was killed. A copy of his court-martial is in the *Washington Papers* and is printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 1, p. 247. The original, signed by all the court and approved by Washington, is in the Virginia State Library.

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55. An omitted paragraph as to the pay of William Jenkins, the express rider.

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It has prevented his going out with the party ordered yesterday. And those Orders are countermanded.

The eldest Captain, six Subalterns, six Sergeants, one Drummer, and one hundred rank and file, are to march immediately upon the Scout. The Captain to wait upon Colonel Washington for his Orders.

The following prices are fixed for the necessaries delivered the Soldiers; Vizt.

**A Blanket £0: 10: 0 A Shirt 10: 0 A pair of Shoes 8: 0 A pr. of Stockings 3: 0 A Hat 2:6**

These Articles being better in their *kind* than usual, are calculated at the *lowest* prices. The Guard is reduced to a Sergeants Command.

### **To CAPTAIN HENRY WOODWARD**

Winchester, May 4, 1756.

Sir: You are with your party under command, to proceed up the new road to Fort Cumberland, as far as Back Creek: when you come there, you must take down these waters, and scour the woods down the Creek, until you come to Potomac River; detaching small reconnoitring parties into the Mountains.

You are to use all possible precaution in your Search; and above all things, to guard against a Surprise.

You are to endeavour to procure persons acquainted with those parts, for Guides. When you, arrive at Potomack, you are to take down the river to Conogochieg; where you are to draw provisions for your Party, sufficient to bring them back to this place; where you are to proceed with the utmost expedition, after finishing the Route above ordered.

### **To CAPTAIN JOHN DALTON<sup>56</sup>**

Winchester, May 4, 1756.

Sir: You are hereby Ordered to join with the Volunteers and Militia under your command, the Detachment sent with Captain Woodward, to scour Back-Creek, &c. He is directed to proceed

down the said Creek, until he comes to Potomack River; and then to march to Conogochieg to get provisions. When you arrive there, you must consult with the Inhabitants the best place to post the Militia at, under command of Captain Russell;<sup>57</sup> and proceed yourself to this place; Captain Swearingham<sup>58</sup> can give you the best information

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56. Capt. John Dalton, of the Fairfax volunteers.

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57. Capt. William Russell, of the militia.

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58. Capt. Thomas Swearingham, of the militia.

concerning this matter.

### **To CAPTAIN JAMES HAMILTON**

Winchester, May 4, 1756.

Sir: You are hereby Ordered to repair with the Detachment under your command to Job Pearsals and John Kirkindalls; with whom you are to consult and arise upon the proper place to make your Head-Quarters.

You are to take care to provide your Company with necessary provisions, agreeable to the Act of Assembly. And you are to be careful in sending out frequent scouting parties: and to use your utmost endeavours to protect the Inhabitants, and keep them quiet.

### **To CAPTAIN NICHOLAS MINOR**

Winchester, May 4, 1756.

Sir: you are hereby ordered to proceed with the Detachment under your command, as far as Colonel Henry Vanmeeters, on the South Branch; and when there to consult with him and

Captain Waggener, on the properest place to fix your Head Quarters, for the protection of the Inhabitants of those waters. And you are to be careful in seeing that your Company is provided with provisions, as the Act of Assembly shall direct.

You must not post your Company too near the men that are already stationed there; but endeavour to cover as much ground as possible; and to keep out constant scouting parties.

**To CAPTAIN HENRY WOODWARD**

Winchester, May 5, 1756.

Sir: I was not a little surprized to hear of the misbehaviour of your party last night at Jesse Pugh's. He has been with me this morning, and complained that they killed his Fowls, pulled down one of his Houses for firewood; turned the Horses into his meadow and corn; destroyed them and his Fences.

As I should imagine that your sense would direct you better, were it not absolutely contradicted by an express order, which I found it necessary to give last October, when you was present.

I can not credit the Report; but only send this in order that you may be particularly careful for the future: as you may depend I shall call you to account, for any irregularities that are committed by your party.

If they are guilty of such misbehaviour it entirely perverts the design they were sent upon; as they are intended to relieve, and not add to the distresses of the people.

I desire you will shew this to Captain Dalton; to let him know what

complaints are made. I have sent Orders to Captain Stewart to stop you at Conogochieg, until the Waggons arrive there for Provisions. I am &c.

**To LIEUTENANT WILLIAM STARK**

Winchester, May 7, 1756.

Sir: You are hereby Ordered to proceed immediately to Edwards's Fort, to relieve Ensign Hubbard: and acquaint him it is

my Orders, that he proceed directly to this place. If your command there should want provisions, you are hereby. empowered to purchase Beef, mutton, &c. upon the best terms; and draw upon the



Commissary for the money. Taking care to purchase only as you want; for it is uncertain, how long your command will remain at that place.

You are to transmit me an account of what intelligence you receive from time to time; if you think it necessary to be communicated. You are to use your utmost endeavours and diligence, in protecting and keeping the Inhabitants quiet: and are to keep your party under strict discipline; and see that they commit no irregularities, nor give any cause for complaint.

You will receive twenty-five Shirts, and twenty-five pair of shoes; of which you are to take a particular accompt. in the delivery; and stop them out of the mens pay; as they will be charged to you.

You will receive Twenty-three pounds seventeen shillings for payment of the said Detachment: and you are, so soon as they are paid, to transmit me the pay-roll; and each marts receipt for the money, agreeable to the usual custom.

#### **To CAPTAIN ROBERT STEWART**

May 8, 1756.

Sir: I received yours by the Bearer. As neither Captain Bell nor Captain Gist, can make out regular pay-rolls for their men; a months pay will be sufficient at this time to give them. If any Officer is in want of pay, and not indebted to the Country for Recruiting; Let him receive out of the Balance in your hands: but let them all know, that it will appear a little dark on their side, if they should draw pay, and are owing the Country: as I have Orders to the contrary.

I do not know what you can do with your Sick; we have no Surgeon to spare: and to send medicines without a person to apply them, will be needless. Out of the few Tents that are at this place, I will send two or three per the first opportunity. I would, were I in your place, make Captain Caton<sup>59</sup> produce Lord Fairfax's Order, before I would give up the House. If you are not apprehensive of the Enemys destroying the Flour at Stoddarts Fort in any short time, I would let it remain there; and send up a party to see that it is properly secured. If you should send up for it, employ as few

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59. Capt. Thomas (?) Caton.

of the Country people as possible; that the Country may be at little expence.

You are directed to receive Captains Bell and Gists' Recruits; and to be very circumspect in your choice; as I would not receive any but very likely fellows at this time. I must desire you will put your Works at Maidstone, in as good a posture of Defence as possible. To do which, borrow or hire Tools of the Country people; for there are none of any kind at this place. Soon as this reaches you, hurry off what Waggons are at the Stores, loaded with Flour, under a proper Escort. And Captain Woodward will wait until Monday, so see if more do not arrive. Until I know what fixed Resolves the Assembly have come to, about raising and appointing their Troops; I can not confirm Mr. Campbell, or order any other to the Troop of Horse. It would look very partial to give Mr. Duncanson<sup>60</sup> the highest post of Honor, who is not yet an Officer; preferable to those who have served sometime as Ensigns. I am, &c. yours

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60. James Duncanson. He afterwards became a lieutenant in the Virginia Regiment.

## ORDERS

Winchester, May 9, 1756.

Parole Jersey.

As there are some Indians coming up to this place, and the ill consequence of giving them Liquor is well known to all who have ever heard of an Indian. It is Colonel Washingtons particular request and Orders That none of the Officers, or any other person, will pretend, upon any pretence whatever, to give them any money or spirituous liquor; as it will be impossible to make them serviceable, if they can get liquor when they want it, or can *buy* it. A Sergeant and Drummer, immediately to go through the Town, and proclaim this Order.

## To CAPTAIN ROBERT STEWART

Winchester, May 10, 1756.

Sir: I have received yours this morning; and wonder you were not more explicit in the reasons you have for believing the Enemys return. You are sensible, the want of proper

intelligence, retards and disappoints the necessary expedients for Defence and Assistance. You must endeavour to procure Tools for the Carpenters; either from the inhabitants, or made by the Smiths

there, upon the lowest terms: as we have no kinds here, nor can by any means supply you. And I hope you will take all care to make that place as impregnable as you possibly can; in case you should meet with an attack.

In my former, I promised to send you some Tents; but, upon examination, the whole Stock consists only of twelve; which does not suffice half the number of men here: and the Militia taking up the houses in town; we are at present obliged to make use of tents. However, when the Militia march hence, I shall send what can be spared. Until then, you must make the best shift you can. You must try to supply yourself with cartridge paper in the neighbourhood; there being very little in Store here.

As you will have frequent opportunities here, you must make out a particular Accompt. of what Cartridge Boxes, Blankets, and other necessities; that we may furnish you with what we can.

I would desire you to be careful how you employ that Doctor. The country has great objections to those occasional Quacks; whose only study is to swell their *Bills*, and to make their profit of the Country. Let him be used as seldom as possible; as I believe he

can administer not a deal of comfort to those indisposed, if one may judge by his sobriety! You have what can be got of the medicines wrote for. The Horses I would have you send to some good pasture and let them recruit, if you can find one convenient. If Stoddarts Fort is to be burnt; I would have you send a pretty strong Guard to bring off the Flour, as soon as you can. Captain Woodward is arrived; and in order to preserve your strength, I have ordered an Escort from this to Conogochieg, to return with the Waggon. You may pay the Officers a months pay, as I directed formerly.

What have you done in these Recruiting Accompts. you had a note of? You will be careful of the Rolls and Receipts, for the Paymaster; so as he may be able to adjust his Accompts. I am &c.

**To CAPTAIN WILLIAM COCKE<sup>61</sup>**

May 12, 1756.

Sir: Captain Baylis,<sup>62</sup> of the Prince

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61. Captain of the First Company of Rangers.

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62. Capt. John Baylis.

William Militia, will give you this; and leave you a reinforcement of twenty men; with these, and the Detachment of your own Company, which has now certainly rejoined you; you will be sufficiently able to send out several scouting parties: And it is my desire, you do your utmost to scour these parts, and protect the people.

You will deliver Mr. Baylis what Carpenters tools you have in the Fort: as he has Orders to build a small Fort at the mouth of Little Capecapon. Take Receipts for the several Tools you deliver the Officers. I am, &c.<sup>63</sup>

**To LIEUTENANT COLONEL HENRY PEYTON<sup>64</sup>**

Winchester, May 12, 1756.

You are hereby Ordered to proceed with the Detachment under your command along the old waggon-road, until you come to Cockes's Fort, on Patterson's Creek; where you are to leave a Subaltern, one Sergeant, and twenty men, to strengthen that Garrison. From thence you are to continue your march to Ashby's Fort; which you are also to strengthen with the same number of men; and from there you are to proceed to Friend Cox's, at the mouth of Little Capecapon. Post your party at

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63. A copy of this was also sent to Capt. John Ashby.

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64. Of the Prince William militia.

that place; and immediately set about erecting a Fortress, for the security of the pass, and for the defence of your Detachment.

You are to draw out all such Carpenters tools as can possibly be spared from the two Forts: and you are to be very circumspect in chusing the spot of Ground to erect the Work on: which must be of the same dimensions, and built after the same model of Ashby's. For which reason you must be very careful in examining of it.

You are always to keep covering parties to secure your Work. men: and to mount a Guard regularly on your March, and at your Station, to prevent Surprizes.

You must apply to the Commissary for provisions to carry with your Detachment; and to take his Directions how to keep your party supplied for the future.

I earnestly entreat, that you will be careful to observe good Order and Discipline among your men: that you will ever be mindful of the charge you are entrusted with: and diligent in executing with the utmost Dispatch, all these several Orders.

## **COUNCIL OF WAR**

May 14, 1756.

At a Council of War, Held at Winchester, the 14th. day of May, 1756; for considering and determining upon the necessary measures to be taken at this juncture with the Militia ordered here by His Honor, the Governor.

Colonel George Washington, President.

Colonel Spotswood

Colonel Martin

Colonel Thornton

Colonel Slaughter

Colonel Muse

Major Taylor

Major Stephen

Colonel Baylor

Colonel Lee

Colonel Fitzhugh

Colonel Taliaferro

Major Green

Major Pendleton

Upon the Question being put by Colonel Washington, whether it was advisable to send part of the Militia now here, to Guard and cover our Southern Frontiers?

It was resolved in the negative; and for the following reasons: vizt.

1st. The Southern Frontiers lying

at a greater distance from, and less exposed to the Enemy, than these northern frontiers; and being more difficult to come at: It is believed they can not suffer much, before the Draughts for completing the Regiment, may be sent thither.

2ly. By His Honor, the Governor, ordering none but the northern Counties to be Draughted; and those all directed to Rendezvous at this place; it appears plainly to have been his opinion in Council, that the southern Counties which lie contiguous, should be left to march out, in case the Enemy should invade the Country on that Quarter.

3ly. As it would be attended with great hardships upon numbers of poor men draughted out of these ten northern Counties, to march to the Frontiers of Augusta, when there are so many Inhabitants, that are much more convenient for its Defence.

4thly. Upon advising with the Commissary, we were informed, that it would require some time to lay in Provision for a Body of men on that Quarter; and, unless Troops were immediately put there, it would not answer the salutary end proposed: whichg

can not be done sooner than by the Draught for the Regiment.

5ly. We have no certain advices of the Enemy being now down; but on the contrary many corroborating account affirming that their tracts in great numbers have been discovered repassing the mountain.

It was judged advisable to discharge all of the Militia, except what were absolutely necessary to resist a second invasion upon this Quarter.

Go: Washington P .

John Spotswood

J. Baylor

Henry Lee

John Thornton

Henry Fitzhugh Junior

Thomas Slaughter

William Taliaferro

George Muse

William Green

Francis Taylor

Benj. Pendleton

Joseph Stevens<sup>65</sup>

May 15th. 1756

Since Holding the above Council, the Subscribers from Louisa, with the Militia of that County, came into Town; and heard the determinations and reasons of the Council are satisfied, and agree to the above resolves.

Charles Barret

Robert Anderson

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65. Stevens's name in the list of members of the council, spelled Stephen, is an error of the copyist of 1784–85. The absence of Col. Thomas Bryan Martin's name among the signers is probably due to the same cause.

## ORDERS FOR THE MILITIA

[May 15, 1756.]

The Commanding Officers of the Militia left at this place, are to order all their Men to be under Arms at Retreat-beating this Evening: and are to acquaint them, that if any of them desert, they will be immediately draughted as Soldiers into the Virginia Regiment.

They are also to order them to lodge their Arms in some secure place; and not suffer them to go about the Streets with their Arms. They will be

Relieved as soon as the Draughts for the Regiment are made: and will not be liable to a chance of being draughted themselves.

In consequence of the Council of War that was held the 14th. instant: Such part of the Militia of the several Counties as rendezvous'd at this place, and were detained here; are ordered to be posted as follows vizt.

At Mendenhalls Fort Lieutenant Thomas, with two Sergeants and twenty-five private men, from Orange-County.

At the Mouth of Sleepy-Creek; Captain Woodford; one Lieutenant, three Sergeants, and fifty private men, from Caroline.

At the Mouth of Little Capecaon, Colonel Peyton; one Captain, four Subalterns, four Sergeants, and Ninety men, from Prince William.

At Ashby's Fort, Lieutenant Newgent; two Sergeants, and twenty-five private men, from King George; Lieutenant Lewis; two Sergeants and thirty-five private men, from Spottsylvania.

At Cocke's Fort, Captain Minor; one Lieutenant, one Ensign, two Sergeants, and forty-five private men from Fairfax.

At, or about Pearsalls, Captain Hamilton, one Lieutenant, one Ensign, two Sergeants, and forty-five private men, from Fairfax.

At Harnesses Fort, Lieutenant Hedgman, two Sergeants and thirty private men, from



Stafford.

At Luney's Creek, Captain Fields, one Lieutenant, two Sergeants, and fifty private men, from Culpeper.

At Enock's, Lieutenant Bebb, with two Sergeants, and thirty-five private men, from Louisa.

At Winchester, Carpenters, Seventy-five, from the whole.

### **To CAPTAIN NICHOLAS MINOR**

May 16, 1756.

Sir: You are immediately upon receipt

of this, with the men under your command, to march to Cocke's Fort, on Pattersons Creek; and there join him. You are to consult with Captain Cocke, and take his directions, in sending out frequent Scouting parties, to scour the Country, and make discoveries.

It is expected that strict obedience will be paid these Orders; as they are in consequence of a Council of War, which has regulated and appointed the Militia to different Stations.

Your Station at this Fort will be more agreeable, as you will have a cover for your men, and be clear of the trouble of procuring provisions.

When you join Captain Cocke, you are to shew him these Orders; and tell him, that Captain Waggener has Directions to draw out all the Forces but what is just sufficient to defend the place upon any alarm: in order that he may be strong enough to pursue the Enemy. I am &c.

### **To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER**

Winchester, May 16, 1756.

Sir: A party of the Militia of

Stafford, is ordered to Harnesses Fort; and will march to-morrow: as will a party of the Culpeper Militia, to your upper fort. So soon as they arrive there, I would have you order down your men from

that, to your station at Vanmeeters; as you will be posted there to assist the Inhabitants, with your Company and advice, in case of any alarms; and a second descent of the Indians. I would have you collect from these different Forts near you, a sufficient number of men, and endeavour immediately to drive them off.

The different stations of the Officers and men, which you will have the direction of; and must order as you think proper, upon any alarm; are as follows:

At Cockes, Harnesses, and your upper Fort<sup>66</sup> You are immediately to make out a Pay-Roll for pay due your Company; and send it by an Officer immediately to the Pay-Master, at Fort Cumberland: and he will receive the money.

If your Officers should arrive at the Fort, before the PayMaster receives advice from me; he must wait until he does.

So soon as he returns and you pay your men off; you must transmit me their Receipts for their pay, not only now, but for all you have paid them since you have been at that Station; as directed in a former Order. I am, Sir, Yours etc.

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66. Evidently blanks were left for the number of men to be ordered to these alarm posts, but the copyist has ignored them.

### **To COLONEL HENRY PEYTON**

Winchester, May 16, 1756.

Sir: The Detachment from King George, under Lieutenant Newgent, is to be stationed at Ashby's Fort; and you are to proceed with the whole of your Militia, to the Mouth of Little Capeapon; and are not to station any of them at Cocke's or Ashby's Forts; as reinforcements from the other Militia will be sent there.

I expect a strict compliance with these Orders, and diligence in executing them; and those you have before received (except here contradicted). You are to acquaint Mr. Newgent that it is my Orders, he obey Captain Ashby; and assist in sending out frequent Scouting parties. I am &c.

### **To CAPTAIN WILLIAM WOODFORD**

Winchester, May 16, 1756.

Sir: You are hereby ordered to proceed with the Detachment under your command to the mouth of Sleepy-Creek; and chuse at that place, or in the neighbourhood thereof, the most convenient place to post your party: In doing which, consult the most judicious and knowing of the Inhabitants. You must get your men into some of the most tenable Houses; and endeavour to erect or throw up such necessary works of defence, as will secure them from any sudden assaults of the Enemy. The Settlers, will no doubt give you all imaginable assistance of men and Tools to carry on the work, as it is intended for their security. You are to use your utmost endeavours to protect the people from the insults of the enemy; and to encourage them by all fair and lawful means, to return to their Dwellings. You are to be particularly careful that no irregularities happen among yourselves. That there is due discipline observed; and that your Men are not suffered to go out in small parties marauding; but are to have your lists at least called twice a-day, to prevent their stragling, and Deserting. Scouting parties you are frequently to send out to range the hills and waters, to see if any tracks of the Enemy can be found: These parties in a general way, should consist of one-third of your men. You are to mount Guard regularly every twenty-four hours; from which Sentries are to be posted and relieved every hour, for the security of your camp, and to prevent surprize. Your ammunition should be well secured, and great care taken of it; and your arms in constant good order; that you always be in readiness for the worst events.

The Commissary will deliver to you provisions; and instruct you in the means of procuring more, as your party shall want.<sup>67</sup>

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67. Practically the same instructions were sent to Lieutenant Hedgman, of the Stafford militia, ordered to Harness's Fort; to Capt. John Field, of the Culpeper militia, ordered to the South Branch; to Lieuts. Cornelius Thomas, Orange militia, ordered to Mendenhall's; and Thomas Beeb, Louisa militia, ordered to Henry Enoch's.

## **To CAPTAIN JOHN FIELD**

Winchester, May 17, 1756.

Sir: You are hereby ordered to proceed with the utmost expedition to Job Pearsails on the South-Branch: You will be joined by the Militia of Spotsylvania and Orange, who are to march with you to that place.

When you arrive there, you are to summon a Council of War, of the Officers with you, and those already at the South Branch; and consult upon the most proper steps to be taken. If you find the Indians still continue about there, you must all unite; and endeavour if possible to surprize them in the night at their sleeping places. But if they are gone off; I would have you and the rest of the Officers with the Men, to proceed immediately to the posts allotted to them in yesterdays Orders.

**To CAPTAIN NICHOLAS MINOR**

May 17, 1756.

Sir: I would have you remain at Kirkendalls with your party until Colonel Peytons return to the Branch; and then march to the place directed in your former Orders; and take the advice of Captain Waggener, &c. how to act for the security and defence of the Inhabitants. Be very diligent and circumspect on your march or otherwise; and use every endeavour to prevent a surprize from the Enemy, as they will be sure to attack when unguarded. Give all assistance you can to secure the peoples cattle and Grain: And be active in every thing for their protection. Let me hear immediately any intelligence you receive of the Enemy worth regarding. I am, &c.

**To COLONEL HENRY PEYTON**

Winchester, May 17, 1756.

Sir: I had yours last night; and observe your dangers from the Indians about the Neighbourhood. I would have you consult with Governor Innes upon the most expedient measures to pursue: and by all means, let me advise you never to be unguarded in case of a Surprize.

I have had some conversation with people from the Branch since I wrote to you last; and find it requisite to continue your command

on these waters, to range and scout about, and to secure the Grain and Cattle of the Inhabitants from the Enemy; than to build that Fort on Capecapon, for sometime yet.

Before *this* reaches you, you may (perhaps) have marched from Pearsails; as I understand you intend it. Upon your return from escorting Governor Innes, I would have you make Pearsalls your Head-Quarters, and to send out your Scouting parties as low as the mouth of the River. If you learn

any further intelligence about the strength and motions of the Enemy, which you may think worth regarding; I desire you would lose no time in communicating it to me. I am &c.

**To CAPTAIN JAMES HAMILTON**

May [17], 1756.

Sir: Yours last night. Let nothing put you off your guard, and be prepared for the worst alarms. I would advise you to remain at Pearsalls until Captain Peytons return from escorting Governor Innes; and then you are to take Captain Minors' post at Kirkendalls; as he is ordered at Colonel Peytons return, also to remove to the South-Branch. I hope there is

no need of advising you to be diligent and careful, both in the defence of the people, and in taking proper care of your party. When you hear intelligence of the Enemy worth regarding, lose not one moment in transmitting it to, Sir, Yours, &c.

**To ALEXANDER BOYD**

Winchester, May 18, 1756.

Sir: You was informed of the insufficiency of your Accompts. before the Committee and desired to make them out more plain and satisfactorily; which I hope you have done as far as you can. You have herewith money sent to pay the Troops and copies of the pay-rolls, and Receipts for payments made the Officers here; in order that you may not make any mistakes in your Settlements with them and the men. As I would have you very exact and precise in all your Accompts. and Disbursements. Otherwise the Committee will not approve of them, nor grant us further Supplies.

You have enclosed a list of Balances due from sundry Officers for Recruiting; which you was to detain in your hands from their pay, according to Colonel Stephens directions after he settled with them. And as many of the Officers now return to the Fort on purpose to have their Accompts settled: you will be careful to see that they discharge the balances respectively due, before you pay them any money: and take care to bring down with you every recruiting accompt. in Colonel Stephens hand, or these balances you have settled. As to payment of Captain Waggeners Detachment, if you have no opportunity, before you leave the Fort, of sending him the money, I would advise you to bring it with you to Captain Cocks's and desire him to transmit it, with an Escort, to Captain Waggener. There is nothing I am so desirous

of, as having distinct, regular and plain accompts to present to the Committee; and the greatest part depends on *yours* . Let me recommend your care to have every thing in a clear light; that no doubts or objections may be raised. Nor must you mix your pay-rolls with contingencies or arrears, as they are each separate articles of accompts. And as you may be hurried in coming away, without having all your accomp't duly settled and stated; I would have you bring all your papers and accompts. down, that they may be properly made out here.

If the money (you now receive) is not enough to discharge the pay due to both Officers and Soldiers; I desire at least the Soldiers may all be paid off to the first of this month; that no murmurs or complaints may be made on that score.

Remember to take Receipts from the Officers of each company for the pay of their men, monthly; and I wish you would endeavour to get receipts for payments made the Soldiers by the Officers, for every month preceeding the Order for taking general and double receipts to the time of my coming into the Service, to lay before the Committee, that they may be convinced no fraud or injustice has been offered the Soldiers, as some take upon them to assert: but that every individual has received the full pay he had a right to expect. You must likewise exhibit an

exact account of all the Stoppages and Deductions from the Soldiers, and how they have been applied. If you find money run short in paying the Soldiers; perhaps you might borrow some from Mr. Woodrow: It shall be repaid him or order on demand, for whatever he helps you to. The money you will receive from Captain Spotswood is three thousand pounds; which I should think sufficient to pay all *off* if you find it does, I desire you would come by Ashby's, Cocks's, and the Detachment at the mouth of the Creek, and also pay them off. If a balance remains in your hand, you must bring it down with you. Nor would I have you make any delay in coming here, as you must immediately go to Conogochieg to settle there; and must continue to send Captain Hogg some money, &c. &c. I am &c.

**To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN**

Winchester, May 18, 1756.

Sir: When I wrote to you last, I expected to have been at Fort Cumberland ere this; but the multiplicity of business in which I am engaged, will prevent me *now* until my return from Williamsburgh; which may be sometime hence: as I wait, at this place, the arrival of an association of Gentlemen; who are, I am told by the Governor,

to point out the places for Forts to be built on our Frontiers. I am also detained here to construct and erect a fort, which the Governor has ordered to be done with expedition.<sup>68</sup> As it will be necessary to have a number of Carpenters, &c. to carry on the work with *spirit*, and vigour; you are desired to send down all the men of Captain George Mercers Company; those that are there of Captain Bells. All the men that are really skilled in masonry: and if all these do not make up fifty; you are to complete the party to that number, out of the best Carpenters in other Companies. The rest, with those who now go up, are to remain under the following Officers; Videlicet. Captains Cocke, Savage and Bronaugh; Lieutenants Lomax, King, Steenberg, and Gist. Ensigns Thompson, Dangerfield, Price and Roy; which will be leaving an Officer to have the care of each Company. All the rest, with the Adjutant, and as many trusty Sergeants as can be spared; are to be sent down with the party in order to go to Fredericksburgh, and receive the Draughts that will be sent to that place to complete the Regiment. These Orders I expect will be strictly complied with, and the party immediately sent off; as all the Draughts are to rendezvous at Fredericksburgh by the last of this instant.

Let nothing prevent the party from coming

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68. Washington's plan for this fort, which was called Fort Loudoun, is in the *Washington Papers*, Library of Congress. An extract of the act of the Virginia Legislature, dated May 12, 1756, authorizing the building of the fort, is also in the *Washington Papers*.

off so soon as you receive this; without Mr. Boyd and the Officers who have recruiting accompts. to settle may require a day or two that can be allowed to settle and prepare their Business in order to bring or send those that do not come, their respective accompts. by the Pay-Master; who is ordered down to make a full Settlement for all the money he has received; that I may account with the Committee for my Disbursements. I must desire also that you will commit to his care, all the Accompts. that you settled; together with all other papers that have the least tendency to public concerns. Mr. Boyd will receive by this conveyance three thousand pounds for payment of the Troops; has orders to pay no officers who, upon settlement, fall indebted to the Country and even those that are clear, if they can do without their pay, are desired not to draw for all; if he has not money to pay the Soldiers fully; I want much to pay them off, to appease murmurs, and silence complaints. I received a remonstrance of theirs in justification of their Behaviour. Tell them, that I hope their conduct will ever be stimulated by a just sense of their Duty. That Heroick Bravery and Sobriety, influenced by a hearty zeal to serve their Country will always be the standard of their actions, and is the certain means of meriting my regard and esteem, as well as obtaining the love and applause of the Country: while a contrary Behaviour, you may strongly assure them, shall never

fail to meet with adequate punishments. Instances of this are now before them of Nathan Lewis, Corporal James Thomas, and Henry Campbell, all under Sentence of Death. The first for his

cowardice at the action at Edwards's; the others for desertion. I have a Warrant from the Governor for shooting of Lewis, and shall delay the execution until the arrival of the new Recruits. The others were tried but to-day; and the proceedings of the Court will be sent to the Governor; if he approves the Sentence; I shall make it my particular care to see *them* executed; as I shall every individual that offends in the like cases.\*\*\*<sup>69</sup>

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69. Omission is an arrangement of troop detail.

Mr. Dick, who is but just

arrived from the northward, says, that Orders are issued for drawing out all the Ammunition and Kings Stores of every kind from Fort Cumberland. Can not you manage, before these Instructions arrive, to furnish the neighbouring Forts plentifully with all these necessities? De Fever may be worked upon with good management, I dare say, to deliver them. I have sent up a Waggon on purpose to transport a good many of the Tools to this place to carry on the Fort; and beg of you to take particular care in sending them, especially intrenching tools. I would advise you to have all the Arms put into repair, and properly straightened.

Sir John St. Clair, when I was at New York, desired I would send him lists of all those men in the Virginia Regiment who were employed in cutting the Road from Fort Cumberland to the Monangehela last year. They will be allowed six-pence per day; and the Officers three shillings; i.e. the Subalterns: The tests for the number of clays are to be signed by the Officers. Do speak about it, and have them sent to me, that I may enclose them to the Quarter-Master General. I must desire you will have the Suttlers put under proper restrictions: and order the Officers, as there will be many of them there, to agree and fix reasonable prices upon all Liquors, &c. Do take great pains to prevent all irregularities in the Garrison; but especially those of Drinking,

Swearing and Gaming! I could wish to see and find every thing in good order, when the Associators come up; which will be about the last of this instant. The Associators will be composed of a Body of the best Gentlemen in the Country, headed by the Attorney General.<sup>70</sup> Mr. Harvey made me a present of a Marquee', which he left in charge with Mr. Livingston: pray enquire where it is, and order it to be properly secured. Mr. Woodward also gives an Order upon Mr. Livingston for a Bedstead, formerly General Braddocks; pray desire Mr. Livingston to see it put into the Waggon which brings the Tools, and do not let the Waggon be overloaded with any private baggage, so that the



march of the party be thereby retarded. I must desire you will be very cautious in ordering Mr. Boyd to advance money upon any occasion: The Committee do not seem to like it. And I do not know how that matter will be taken; your ordering Captain Gist an hundred pounds: He will fall greatly short when his accompts. are

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70. "The Gentln. Associators being Volunteers at their own Expence, I gave them no Instructions, but recommended them to consult with you what was proper to be done and as they went with great alacrity I doubt not of the readiness to do every Thing that may be for the Service of the Coun'try."—*Dinwiddie to Washington, May 27, 1756.*

settled; and I believe is very unable to pay the Balances. Pray what is gone with the Horses that were taken up last Fall? I wish it were possible for you to remove the Stores which are at the mouth of Pattersons Creek to Ashby's Fort. The Country have at last determined to act defensively; and I believe in a little time will entirely abandon Fort Cumberland. *They* have resolved that the Draughts that are now raising, shall not be marched out of the Colony. If you find it impracticable at this time to remove the Stores before spoken of; do endeavour to have that lodgement

made as tenable as possible; strengthen the Garrison; and put a more experienced Officer than Mr. Brockenbrough at it; whose youth perhaps may be a means of his doing something inconsistent. If any Officers at the Fort have the prices of necessaries to deduct from the pay of those men that are either at the Branch with Captain Waggener; at Edwards's, Conogochieg, or at this place; they are to enclose lists thereof to their Officers, that such stoppages may be made, for the pay-master will have orders to clear all off. And he is, if it is found any way convenient, to come down the old road, that he may pay off Ashbys Rangers and Cockes's; leave money there to be sent to Waggener; and also to pay off the party posted at Edwards's. Since writing the above, I find it absolutely necessary that the party ordered, should come down by Ashby's &c. for the reasons aforesaid. I also desire that you will by no means fail to send all the Masons at Fort Cumberland even if Captain Mercer and Bells men should exceed fifty. There come up thirteen of the Nottaway Indians, and I recommend them to your care and direction: They may be serviceable with proper management. I promised them a Jacket a-piece; which you must give them, if such things can be procured there. Any other little necessaries may be ordered them; but take great care to keep them from liquor. I am informed, many of the

Soldiers are affected by the wild Sallard they eat: Therefore I would recommend that care should be taken to prevent it. Some of the Volunteers have wrote to me concerning their expectations. Tell them I have no Commissions by me at present; nor do I know what Regulations the Governor will make in the Regiment. There are vacancies which they must fill, but this can not be done, until I go down or hear from the Governor. I am &c.

**To ROBERT DINWIDDIE**

Winchester, May 23, 1756.

Honble. Sir: The method I shall use to inform your Honour of the proceedings of the militia, is to enclose a transcript of my journal<sup>72</sup> that relates to that affair, and to send a copy of a council of war held here by the field-officers of these counties, you were pleased to order to our assistance.<sup>73</sup> There I hope will be sufficient to discover the springs that actuated my conduct.

The spirit of desertion was so remarkable in the militia, that it had a surprising effect upon the regiment, and encouraged many of the soldiers to desert: but as I never had failed in sending officers on different roads upon the first reports, so neither did I neglect it now, and luckily caught two, who being brought to trial, were both convicted, as your Honor will see by the court's proceedings. James Thomas, one of them, was among the first of my followers, and always behaved himself with the greatest sobriety, honesty and diligence, so far as I have ever seen or heard. And I imagine if he did not lose the money, as he says in his defence, he might be prevailed upon to spend a part in liquor, and then was afraid to meet his officer with the rest.

The other criminal, Henry Campbell, is a most atrocious villain, and richly deserves an

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72. This journal is not now among the *Washington Papers* in the possession of the Government.

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73. The militia, who had assembled at Winchester upon the recent alarm, had given Washington infinite trouble and anxiety. On this subject Col. William Fairfax wrote to him (May 13): "I am sensible, such a medley of undisciplined militia must create you various troubles, but, having Cæsar's Commentaries, and perhaps Quintus Curflus, you have therein read of greater fatigues, murmurings, mutinies, and defections, than will probably come to your share; though, if any of those casualties should interrupt your quiet, I doubt not but you would bear them with a magnanimity those heroes remarkably did....The Council and Burgesses are mostly your friends; so that if you have not always the particular instructions from the Governor, you may think necessary and desire, the omission, or neglect, may proceed from the confidence entertained of your ability and discretion to act that what is fit and praiseworthy."

ignominious death for a former as well as the present offence. He was once a sergeant and entrusted with some goods from Alexandria, part of which he embezzled, and, because it could not be absolutely proved, was only reduced. After that (in December last,) he deserted, and carried several

men with him; and, upon the most solemn promises of good behaviour, was pardoned, but for this only reason, we had no power to hold general courts martial. And *now* he was instrumental in carrying off seven others, two only of whom were taken. For these reasons I hope your Honor will think him worthy an example against desertion, as Lewis against cowardice, whose execution I have delayed until the arrival of the draughts. These examples and proper encouragement for good behaviour will I hope, bring the soldiers under proper discipline.

I found it absolutely impossible to go to Fort Cumberland at this time, without letting matters of greater importance suffer in my absence here; such a multiplicity of different kinds of business am I at present engaged in. Governor Innes is gone up, who, I hope, will assist with his advice in setting things to rights, if any irregularities have been practised contrary to the custom of the army; but I cannot find by any inquiries that I have been able to make, that there have.

I have ordered a sufficiency of officers to be left at Fort Cumberland, and the rest to repair to this place, in order to proceed to Fredericksburg, agreeably to your Honor's commands.

And as soon as the gentlemen Associators arrive here, I shall take that place in my way to Williamsburg, to settle my accounts, and receive more money, which is already scarce with me. I am heartily glad, your Honor has fixed upon those gentlemen to point out the place for erecting of forts, but I am sorry to find their motions so slow.<sup>74</sup> The summer season will be so far advanced, that, if we meet with opposition in conducting the work, the difficulties and delays that must attend the execution cannot be described.

It gave me infinite concern to find the Assembly had levied their troops until December only. By the time they shall have entered into the service, they will claim a discharge. To get the least smattering of the duty they cannot, and we find by experience, that our poor and ragged soldiers would kill the most likely militia in five days' marching, so little are the latter acquainted with fatigue. Men would almost as soon have entered the service for seventeen months, as for seven, and in that time I am convinced we could have enlisted them all upon our own terms. As it is, some perhaps may be got. Pray does your Honor approve that they should. One of *those* would be of more worth than two of the *others*.

Your Honor in a letter of the

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74. This company appears to have originated among the lawyers and the association was entered into on May 3. On the 8th the governor wrote that "these gentlemen will march from north to south, with your advice, to propose the the proper places to erect these forts." They then numbered about 100 men, with the attorney general, Peyton Randolph, at their head. Being volunteers, serving at

their own cost, the governor gave them no orders. They marched toward Winchester, but the alarm subsided before they had an opportunity of putting their martial spirit to the test. Mr. Robinson, the speaker, after giving notice to Colonel Washington (May 3) of the organization of this company of gentlemen volunteers and the passage of the bill authorizing the erection of a fort at Winchester, added: "The Council and House of Burgesses have agreed to a representation to his Majesty, in which you and the other officers are recommended to his Majesty's favor...Our hopes, dear George, are all fixed on you for bringing our affairs to a happy issue, and I am very sure if you are properly assisted they wont be disappointed in their Expectations." Sparks quotes from Dinwiddie's Letter-Books, that the governor wrote as follows to Major General Abercrombie (May 28): "As we are told the Earl of Loudoun is to raise three regiments on this continent. on the British establishment, I dearn't venture to trouble him immediately on his arrival with any recommendations; but, good Sir, give me leave to pray your interest with his Lordship in favor of Colonel George Washington, who, I will venture to say, is a very deserving gentleman, and has from the beginning commanded the forces of this dominion. General Braddock had so high an esteem for his merit, that he made him one of his aid-decamps, and, if he had survived, I believe he would have provided handsomely for him in the regulars. He is a person much beloved here, and he has gone through many hardships in the service, and I really think he has great merit, and believe he can raise more men here, than any one present that I know. If his Lordship will be so kind as to promote him in the British establishment, I think he will answer my recommendation."

—ult. approved the scheme I sent down for forming the regiment into two battalions of twenty companies, (giving the field-officers each one,) but never gave any directions concerning the appointment. Nor do I think there can be any plan judiciously concerted, until we know what number of forts are to be built on our frontiers, as the number of our companies must in a great measure depend upon the divisions of the regiment. As the case now stands, there are several vacancies in the regiment, and I have but one blank commission. Though, if I had, I should not think it prudent to fill up more, until matters are a little better regulated.

At this place I have begun the fort according to your orders, and found, as little of the matter as I know myself, that the work would not be conducted, if I was away, which was one among many reasons, that detained me here. I have also ordered Captain Stewart, who commands at Conogochieg, to fortify that place as well as he can, with the tools he can procure, and shall endeavour in all things, so far as I am capable, to act for the best.

Mr. Dick, (who is just returned from the northward,) says, there are orders for drawing out all the ammunition and other stores that belong to the train at Fort Cumberland, and to send them immediately round to New York. I have thought it expedient to give your Honor the earliest advice

that you may order accordingly; for should this be done, it will leave that place entirely defenceless, and stop the source

that can supply us otherwise. I have given Colonel Stephen previous notice of it, and have desired he will work on the conductor of the train, (in whose care it is left,) to have the forts of Ashby, Cockes &c., plentifully furnished, before such an order arrives. I am, &c.

## ADVERTISEMENT

[Winchester, May, 1756.]<sup>71</sup>

Whereas I have great reason to believe, the Dangers apprehended from the French and Indian incursions are now pretty much over; none of them being seen or heard of for sometime past; and having certain advice of several parties of them returning over the

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71. The date of issue of this notification would be between May 18 and 26.

Alleghany mountains. I take this method of informing and persuading those unfortunate people who were obliged to abandon their Plantation, of their security and necessity to return again. Numbers of the Militia being already, and more will be very soon, so posted and dispersed around the Frontiers. Building Forts, scouting, scouring and patrolling the woods; that the least appearance of the Enemy will soon be discovered and every necessary measure taken to repel them, and defend the Inhabitants from any danger or trouble. It is to be hoped, that people will pay regard to this notice; if their own interest or the public good can be motives to prevail with them to return and take care of their cattle and Crops. As they will be so well guarded and defended, that with good assistance, they may for the future live in the greatest security and peace.

## EVENING ORDERS

[Winchester], May 26, 1756.

As many Draughts are expected up for the Regiment immediately the Commissary is to call in all the Countrys Arms, which he has delivered out of the Stores, upon receipts given to the people. If the people of the Town or Country, have any Arms, clothes, Blankets, &c. &c. belonging to the Soldiers, which they have bought; they are desired to give them in immediately to the commanding officers: If they are found in their possession after issuing this Order; they must expect to be prosecuted to the

utmost rigour of the Law; which has laid a penalty of twenty pounds (upon any person who buys or exchanges any Arms, Clothes &c. with a Soldier;) to be paid to the Informer.\*\*\*

**To CAPTAIN ROBERT STEWART**

June 2, 1756.

Sir: I received yours, and observe the contents: The Bearer added, that seven other Indians were seen. This I gave no credit to, as it was not certified in the Letter.

The Assembly have resolved that their

Troops shall not march out of the Colony. Whether this is binding on the whole, or only the Draughts, I know not; therefore I would not advise your going into Maryland, unless it be to procure some manifest advantage to Virginia; in keeping the Enemy out of it &c. To range for and search them in another province, I can not think consistent with the intention of the Assembly. Nor is it the design of the Assembly or Governor; as the men are raised solely for the Defence of the Colony, and not acting in conjunction with other Corps; that Governor Sharpe, or his Officers, shou'd have any connection with them. You are therefore to pay no regard to any Orders that you may receive from him or any other than the Governor of Virginia, myself, or your Superior Officers in the Virginia Regiment. The instant this comes to hand dispatch Captain Gist to this place, that he may settle his recruiting accompt. before I go Williamsburgh. I only wait his arrival; and shall do it impatiently, unless he is expeditious. His stay here may be long: Perhaps he may be ordered to accompany the Associators; therefore he should order his things to follow him.

Captain Bell, with all his men that are here, sets out to-day to join you. Let Sergeant Hughes's Recruit be sent to this place in their room.

The Pay Master attends Captain Bell and will pay off all the Recruits to the first of May. He will also pay Sergeant Hughes's recruiting accompt: and from thence will proceed to Williamsburgh to meet me. Yours &c.

**To CAPTAIN WILLIAM COCKE**

Winchester, June 4, 1756.

Sir: I received yours, complaining of the irregular method of supplying you with provisions; and communicated the contents to Commissary Walker, who writes you on this head: this directions you must follow. You must make out an accompt. of the pay which is owing to you, and transmit it to me per the first opportunity. Take care to be very vigilant and active; and to communicate all the intelligence that is remarkable and *certain* . You must always, upon any alarm, have regard to the summons of each other; and to unite on all extraordinary occasions. Endeavour at working by stratagem; to way-lay and surprize the Enemy; rather than seek them in any open pursuit.

I was greatly surprized and angered to hear of the dastardly behaviour of seven of your men, who fled from a less number of the Enemy, without discharging their pieces. Such behaviour merits the fate that some of our men (for the like offence) will soon meet with. And, you may assure your company that they shall not

escape unpunished for such Offences. Your parties that go for provision, should always be made strong. I am &c.

#### **To CAPTAIN CHARLES LEWIS**

Winchester, June 4, 1756.

You are hereby Ordered to remain at this place until my return from Williamsburgh: unless by any advices from Fort Cumberland, or any other of the Forts it is thought advisable, in a council of War, (which you are to hold of your own Officers) to march to their assistance. In that case, you are to proceed with all the Soldiers, except those of Captain Mercers Company; the Masons, and a few of the best Carpenters of the Draughts; to such place or places as are so infested by the Enemy.

You must be particularly careful that there are exact returns made of the Troops every day, that there may be no more provisions drawn for than is right: and you are to sign all Orders for provisions, and such other absolute necessities as are required. Captain Peachy will have the overlooking and management of the Workmen and is to be exempted from other Duty. He has orders to draw out as many men daily to work (reserving enough to mount Guard) as can be employed to advantage; and is to have such Officers to assist him, as he shall apply for. All the Soldiers that are unemployed, in the aforesaid Duty, are to be formed into Squads and duly exercees and regularly trained twice or thrice a-day. You must endeavour to inculcate

due obedience upon the new Recruits and to discourage Swearing and Drinking. All that are brought to this place you are to receive, and put under proper command and regulation until I arrive, and to take care that none of them desert; if they do, to send immediately after them.

**To ROBERT DINWIDDIE**

Winchester, June 25, 1756.

Honble. Sir: I doubt not but your Honor will be as much surprised, as I have been concerned and vexed, at my stay here.

When I left Williamsburg, I did it with a design to proceed with the utmost expedition to Fort Cumberland. In order thereto I arrived at Fredericksburg to dinner, the day after I left your Honor, at one o'clock, and gave the officer, posted at that place, a list of such tools as were wanted to build the chain of forts, and ordered they might be sent by a wagon, pressed for that purpose, immediately to Winchester, to which place I repaired to get every thing in readiness, and wait their coming to escort them to Fort Cumberland.

After I had been here two or three days I received a letter enclosing a

list of the tools from the officer, who informed me that he had, according to order, despatched them in a wagon, hired for that purpose; for which wagon I have been waiting with the greatest impatience and uneasiness imaginable. How to account for this delay I am quite at a loss (as I am certain they were sent) unless the wagoner has lost his horses or run off with the wagon and contents.

I thought it needless to proceed without them, as nothing can be done for want of tools. I have sent two or three expresses to hurry them on, and shall make no delay when they arrive. I intend to take the advice of a council of war, (when I arrive at Fort Cumberland,) about the line on which these forts are to be erected, &c. and shall visit all the ground that I conveniently can, and direct the building.<sup>75</sup>

It is a work, that must be conducted extremely tedious for these reasons, vizt., the scarcity of tools, smallness of our numbers, and want of conductors. The strength of our forces will not admit of many divisions, because in that case, each party may probably be demolished. We can, therefore, only attempt, with such men as can be drawn out of the garrisons already established, to build fort after fort, and not, by attempting too many at a time, thereby run the risk of having the wholea



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75. A copy of the proceedings of this council of war, held July 10, at Fort Cumberland, on the building of these forts, is in Washington's "Letter Book." The original proceedings are in the *Washington Papers*.

demolished. To go on in the manner above mentioned must be extremely tedious, unless your Honor will be pleased to put the militia that are upon our southern frontiers under the command of Captain Hogg, and order them to begin on the Mayo River, and proceed in their buildings until they meet our parties, which will advance to the southward. I can point out no other method at present to expedite this necessary work. If your Honor approve this scheme, and will let me know by express, I shall despatch another to Captain Hogg, to inform him thereof, and shall enclose him such a plan, as the whole will be directed by. Your Honor's orders to the militia, and indeed to the inhabitants of those parts, to assist with their advice in fixing upon the places, and with their *labour* in forwarding the work, must be absolutely necessary.

Your Honor never gave me a decisive answer to a question I asked, about giving the field-officers companies. For which reason I have presumed to repeat it again, because there are two companies now vacant, by the death of Captain John Mercer, and the resignation of Captain Savage, and should either be given to the field-officers, or oldest lieutenants. There is no advantage can possibly arise to the field-officers by having companies, (but trouble there certainly will) as they are allowed, I suppose, the *same pay now* , as though they *had* .

The only reason that urges me to repeat it is because I look upon this to be a singular instance to the contrary, and running the country to the additional expense of three supernumerary captains.

Two hundred and forty-six draughts are thea

total number brought in, out of which number several have deserted. Three were discharged, being quite unfit for service, (and indeed several more *ought* to be, if men were not so scarce,) and there remain now in confinement six Quakers, who will neither bear arms, work, receive provisions or pay, or do any thing that tends, in any respect, to self-defence. I should be glad of your Honor's directions how to proceed with them.<sup>76</sup> I cannot yet return to your Honor the names of the volunteers, that will be appointed to the vacancies, but as soon as I arrive at Fort Cumberland shall acquaint you according to request.

Governor Sharpe is building a fort on Potomac River, about fifteen miles above Conogochieg, which may be of great service towards the protection of our people on that side. It is thought the fort will cost the province of Maryland near thirty thousands pounds, before it is finished.<sup>77</sup> I am, &c.

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76. "If the six Quakers will not fight you must compel them to work on the forts, to carry timber, &c.; if this will not do confine them with a short allowance of bread and water, till you bring them to reason."— *Dinwiddie to Washington*. July 1, 1756.

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77. The Governor and Assembly of Maryland had come at last to a temporary reconciliation of their differences, so far as to agree in a bill for raising £40,000 for his Majesty's service. Of this sum £11,000 were to be appropriated to building a fort on the frontiers, near but not beyond the North Mountain; and £25,000 for carrying on any expedition for the public service, in which the other colonies might join. By the same act the governor was authorized to raise 200 men, to be employed in constructing the fort. (See *Acts of the Maryland Assembly*, May, 1756, and McMahon's *History of Maryland*, vol. 1, p. 305.) The fort was called Fort Frederick. It was a work of considerable magnitude, of a quadrangular form, and constructed of durable materials, situated on an eminence about 500 yards from the Potomac River. Parts of it still remain.

## ORDERS

Fort Cumberland, July 6, 1756.

Parole Xantippe.

The General Court Martial, whereof Lieutenant Colonel Stephen was President, is dissolved. Colonel Washington has approved of the Sentence of the

said Court which was, that Lieutenant King had been guilty of Disobedience of Orders; and consequently of a Breach of the fifth article of the second section of war: But, in consideration of his inexperience, and this being the first Detachment he had the sole command of. They think his being reprimanded by Colonel Washington, at the head of the Battalion, will be a sufficient punishment for this first (though unhappy) fault.

The Regiment is to be under arms this Evening at four o'clock. No Officer nor Soldier off Duty, to be absent. The Articles of War are *then* to be read.<sup>\*\*\*78</sup>

Colonel Washington expressly orders, that no Officer do provide himself with any other kind of Clothes than those ordered the 17th. of September last: as they will not be allowed to appear in them. Every Officer who has not complied with that order, to do it immediately; and they are all to procure Sashes, if to be had. They may be supplied with Hats, and waistcoat lace, at Mr. Peters's, Rock Creek and sword knots. The Quarter Master is to take a man per company, and see the Streets, between the Barracks, well cleaned; the Bog-houses

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78. The Articles of War are printed in the *Dinwiddie Papers*, vol. 1, p. 107–109.

cleaned, and all the filth and garbage near the Fort carried off. All non-commissioned Officers and Soldiers are expressly ordered to wear their hair; which it is expected the Officers will observe; and see that they dress their hair, and appear as soldier-like as possible.

As the Uniform ordered in September last at this Garrison, is now fixed upon for the Virginia Regiment; and clothes and all other necessities for the Soldiers are shortly expected in from Great Britain. It is again requested, that no, Officer will fail to embrace the first opportunity of providing himself with such an uniform.

## ORDERS

Fort Cumberland, July 7, 1756.

Parole Yorkshire.

A Detachment of sixty men and ten of the best water-men, to parade immediately and go down the Potomack, to bring back the *Flatt* carried off by the *Fresh*. All the men of the Regiment, except the Draughts, to be under arms this Evening at five o'clock, to go through their Exercise, and afterwards to practise Bush-fighting.

Colonel Washington has observed, that the men of his Regiment are very profane and reprobate. He takes this opportunity of informing them of his great displeasure at such practises; and assures them if they do not leave them off, they shall be severely punished. The Officers are desired, if they hear any man y wear, or make use of an oath or execration; to order the Offender twenty-five lashes immediately, without a Court Martial. For the second offence, they will be more severely punished.

The Sergeants are ordered to take notice of the mens Behaviour in their Barracks and endeavour to break them of that ill habit. As the Soldiers have made some

complaints of their provision being very bad. The Commissary is ordered to inspect all that he can have the least doubt of and if there is any that can be saved, to put it into fresh pickle; what can not, must immediately be thrown away.

A Return from the several Officers of all the men here, who were in the Engagement with General Braddock at Monongehela, and have not received the five pounds allowed by the Country; is to be given in to Colonel Washington this evening at four of the clock: At which time the men are to wait upon him to receive their allowance.<sup>79</sup>

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79. A record of receipts of members of Capt. Thomas Waggener's company, for this premium money, dated July 7, 1756, is in the *Washington Papers*. It seems to be the only one that has survived.

### **To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER**

Fort Cumberland, July 13, 1756.

Sir: The companies of the Virginia Regiment are completed to an equal number, except yours, which, through mistake of the returns, is not. But as I expect more men every minute, you shall be immediately completed.

As you have on command with you several men of other companies, the officers have received orders to apply to you for them, and you must deliver them up. I desire you will send James Campbell, the Drummer, by the first escort that comes to Winchester.

From the great confidence I repose in your diligence, I have appointed you to a command, on which much depends; and I doubt not you will see the work carried on with expedition. And I must particularly recommend it to you to keep up a strict command, both over officers and men, as you will be answerable for any delays or neglect which may happen for want of due discipline; and I would not wish your good nature should occasion you to overlook a fault in an officer, who may be your best friend.

As I am informed by the people who met me at Pearsalls, that there is a fort now kept by the country people, about twenty miles from your upper one, in a proper place; if, upon arriving there you find it will do with a little alteration or amendment, I would have you take it in behalf of the country, leave men to garrison it, and so proceed on to the next place. When you arrive there, you may get all the timbers ready, and by that time I shall send you a plan of the kind of forts I would have you build.

The people whom I have conversed with on the subject, seem to think there will be no difficulty in providing provisions for the men. I would have you provide for these in the same manner you have hitherto done for your own company; and whatever orders you give on that account shall be duly honored. I would have you from time to time transmit me an account of all occurrences.

The governor has ordered the militia to be discharged as soon as harvest is over, since they are so unwilling to continue until December; and should you march on with all the men to building these forts, it might give the inhabitants uneasiness, and raise complaints to be left unguarded. I would, therefore, desire you to leave small parties at proper places to keep them quiet

and easy, in case you see occasion for it.

If you have occasion for more ammunition, you must send to Fort Cumberland for what you want.

**To CAPTAIN ROBERT McKENZIE**

Fort Cumberland, July 13, 1756.

You are to proceed with your Company to the Fort, now commanded by Captain William Cox; and take the command of it until the Militia at Pearsalls, &c. are discharged which will be as soon as Harvest is over.

You must then remove to Pearsalls Forts, and take the command there: During your stay at Cox's, you must escort

all Waggon, Expresses, &c. going up as far as Ashbys', and coming down, to Pearsalls. As your own Company and Captain Cox's will furnish a strong party, I would have you send out frequently, and scour the woods *well*. So soon as you arrive at your first post, you are to inform Lieutenant Neugent of the King George Militia; that he with his command, must immediately proceed to John Parkers on the South Branch, who, with the inhabitants about there, is to use his utmost endeavours to protect and assist them, while they are gathering in their Harvest. You may acquaint Captain Cox, that he has my leave to go to Winchester, and he may take the opportunity of the Escort which will be sent down with the Waggon. You are to use your utmost care and endeavours to enlist what men of the company of Rangers you can; but are to give them no more enlisting money than twenty-five shillings. When you remove over to Pearsalls you must send a Subaltern and fifteen men over to Kirkendalls Fort, to keep the inhabitants on that Quarter quiet. By every opportunity you are to transmit me Accounts of your proceedings and of all occurrences. I would have you keep up a

constant correspondance with those of the other Forts; and transmit what intelligence you receive from each other immediately.

## **MEMORANDUM**

Wrote to Captains Hamilton, Minor, Baylis, Fields; and to Lieutenant Neugent; that the Governour has ordered them and their men to be discharged as soon as the harvest is cut and secured. And ordered them to march through Winchester, to leave

the Arms, &c. belonging to the Country.

## **ORDERS**

Winchester, July 21, 1756.

Parole Kendall.

As several complaints have been made to Colonel Washington, that the Soldiers do often, at the deserted Plantations and in the woods, take up Horses to ride and carry their Baggage.

He hereby declares, that if any Soldier, upon any pretence whatever, upon any party or post, do presume to take Horses for their own use, they shall be severely punished: And the commanding Officers of parties are ordered to have particular regard to this; and not allow their men to do so for the future.

The Troops are not to march until to-morrow morning.

## **To CAPTAIN PETER HOGG**

Winchester, July 21, 1756.

Sir: I received your several letters of the 14th. 25th. and 26th. ultimo, and that of the 3d. of February, enclosing the pay-rolls. Major Lewis, as I before wrote you, received money to pay off the arrears of his company, and you must settle with him. Those of your former company have been paid off here,

long since per the paymaster, who will, if you draw upon him for your own (and make it appear they are due) pay you.

I was very much surprized to find Corporal Smith here upon such an Errand. Your suffering such clamours among the men, argues very great remissness in you: I imagined your being put there over them was partly with an intent to keep them quite and passive; but this Express sent purely to humour them, seems as if you were afraid to do your duty among them: and by the subject of your letter it appears to me you were much of the same way of thinking with them, and seem equally dissatisfied.

Let me tell you in your own words that "I was very much surprized" at the contents of your letter, wrote in such a commanding style; and your demands so express and peremptory, that the *direction* was the only thing which gave me the least room even to suspect it could be wrote to any but John Roe, or some other of your menial Servants! I shall always act for the good of the Service, and inform you (when I find it necessary) of my proceedings. Your men have, or *ought* to have, as good Clothes as those here: they received them at the same time, and the same quantity; though you say, they never got but one Shirt, a pair of Stockings,

and a pair of Shoes. The rest of the Companies have received none since they did, so they have been misinformed; which I imagine you could have satisfied them of, and of their great mistake in saying the Carolina Companies have been completed with their Clothes. In short after they were dismissed from the parade if their discontents were so high, those who made use of any such speeches as you seem to hint, you ought to know what course to have taken with them, and even the Sergeants, who complained of being worse used than the other Companies and it surprizes me you should overlook it. Clothes, and extremely good ones, are sent for, and may be expected before the cold weather; and they shall immediately receive them: But at this time there is not, nor has been, for these six months past, one suit in the Store.

I have sent you sixty Blankets, sixty Shirts, and sixty pairs of Shoes and Stockings which is all the clothing we have for the men here; as you may be further informed by your Express; and on whom, I suppose, you will more rely. There is a Commissary appointed for the whole; but the great distance you are from us, prevents *his* being of any Service to you. So if you think there is any danger of the Beef being all bought up, you may engage immediately for a sufficiency for your Company, to be delivered at the proper time for Slaughtering. Beef is cheaper now than it has been for

years past. As to McCulley's charge, it must be stopped from the mens pay: I am surprized they had not considered the consequence before they went off: It is too late now to complain. There is part of your recruiting accompt. which much astonishes me; and I thought you nor no Officer,

who valued his character, would have presumed to have done such a thing; as he must be certain it would appear as a palpable fraud in him. Three men were enlisted here by Sergeant Wilper; he received both money and provision from me for carrying them up to you; and as that afterwards appeared insufficient, had a further allowance made; and will you after that presume to charge eight-pence per diem, for their subsistence 'till they were delivered to you? Did you pay a farthing on that account? And do you not know the eight pennies were allowed the Officers for the expence of maintaining and marching their Recruits to the Rendezvous? You have been paid these ten months for a full company, and by your returns, have never been complete; I have instructions to allow for no men but those *present* : Therefore I hope you will account for all the non-effective money you have received, by the next opportunity agreeable to your returns. You may deduct your recruiting accompt. out of the money, after striking off the subsistence for three men enlisted by Sergeant Wilper; and recruit your Company with the Balance: if not sufficient, advance your own money, and you shall be repaid.

Lieutenant Bullet is sent to relieve Captain McNeill; who is to proceed to this place with the utmost expedition.

I am sorry to find your conduct so disagreeable to all the Officers, as to occasion *two* who were appointed to your Company, to resign; and I believe it would have gone thro' the Regiment had I only used persuasive arguments to them; or have suffered a third to follow the example. I must therefore desire you will act circumspectly; as I assure you, if I have any just complaints made of you, you may expect to answer them. If these three Sailors can produce three as good, able-bodied men as themselves, and fit for Service, you may discharge them when the others are entertained, but not until *then* . Enclosed you will receive a list of the Tools ordered you from Fredericksburg, and those sent from this place by Lieutenant Bullet's waggon; which are to be employed in the public Service, when wanted, perferable to any others: he conforming to the same Rules and Regulations as others do. The Tools marked *wanting* , are those sent for to Fredericksburg, which I have directed to be sent to the care of Mr. Wright, at Augusta Court-House. Those marked *sent* , are what you will *now* receive. If all these are insufficient to carry on your Works you must provide others in the best manner you can; and the Commissary will pay for them, when drawn upon.

Take care when you engage Beef for your Company. to allow for Pork, if it is to be had. As the Governor sent me *yours*

open, I took out a letter enclosed for the commanding Officer of the Militia in Augusta, that he might receive it the sooner. I am Yours &c.



**To CAPTAIN JOHN McNEILL**

Winchester, July 21, 1756.

Sir: I have yours of the 27th. ultimo: and in answer, you will observe, that the few men enlisted by the Captains, and the small number now in the Regiment, has much displeased the Governour: So that he has lessened the number of Captains and ordered that the Field Officers should have each a Company: which retards your promotion something longer, until the Majors be established by him. However, you may be assured of my Services for you, and may depend upon your rank being preserved, whenever a vacancy shall fall out for your advancement; however disagreeable it may be to the other Officers.

You are appointed Captain-Lieutenant in my Company. And I desire you may immediately repair to this place to join us. Should be glad you would endeavour to enlist all the ablebodied likely men you can as we want a great many of our Complement. I imagine you are not to be informed, that your present Office entitles you to the rank of Captain; and exempts you from the Duty of a Subaltern? You may tell Captain Hogg, that an

other equally good as the *mulatto*, will be as agreeable. I am &c.

**To MAJOR JOHN BAYLIS**

Winchester, July 21, 1756.

Sir: You are to use your utmost endeavours with the men under your command to gather in all the Harvest on the Plantations abandoned by the Inhabitants, and secure it in the best manner you can. You are also to assist the inhabitants about you all you can in collecting their harvest; and guard them while they are about it. Let Captain Hamilton, and the rest of the Officers of the Militia, know the contents of this letter. And they are also ordered to observe the same Directions about where they are posted. Advise the people to tread out the grain with all possible expedition, and bring it within their Forts, to prevent its being burned by the Enemy.

So soon as this service is over, you may acquaint them, that they will all be discharged. As there have been many complaints made to me of the Militia Officers impressing Horses to come down here,

and ride about upon their own Business. Let them know it is my orders, that they do not presume to do so

for the future; as it is expressly against the Act of Assembly. I am yours, &c.

**To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER**

Winchester, July 21, 1756.

Sir: I now enclose you the plans promised in my last; which if you observe, you can not possibly err. The one shews the Ground-work or foundation of the Fort. The *other*, the Houses and conveniences therein: with such plain and easy directions for constructing these Buildings, that you can not mistake the design. You will also receive by Ensign Smith men, to make your Company equal to the rest. I most earnestly recommend diligence to you. You *must* see an indispensable necessity for it.

John Cole, who was appointed to your Company, a Sergeant, has since been broke for neglect of Duty. You will receive *him* as *private*

and in his room as Sergeant, Mark Hollies.

Fail not to send down per the first opportunity Campbell the Drummer: nor omit by any conveyance, to transmit me an account of your proceedings. Above all things, guard against Surprizes, by keeping out evening parties to secure your workmen. Your worst men are to be draughted for that duty; reserving the best, to work on the Forts: and they will be allowed double pay for every day they work, of which you and your Officers are to keep accounts. I am &c.

**To CAPTAIN ROBERT STEWART**

Winchester, July 22, 1756.

Sir: Herewith I enclose you two plans of the kind of Forts that are intended to be built. One of the ground-work, the other of the houses and all conveniences, with such directions that I think it impossible for you to err if

you will attend thereto. Enclosed you will also receive a list of such tools as I have been able to procure, with which and such as you may get of the inhabitants by borrowing, hiring and buying, you must be content. These must be put in the hands of the best tradesmen, and most

laborious workmen; who will receive six. pence extra ordinary pay for every day they work, an account whereof must be kept (exactly) by yourself and officers. The men that remain after the workers are draughted, must act as covering parties, to prevent surprises, against which you must carefully guard. It is impossible for me to fix upon the identical piece of ground to erect this fort on. Therefore, I shall confine you to the most convenient spot, between the mouth of Sleepy Creek and Barracks, which you will make choice of, with the approbation of your officers. There is a hill which overlooks Boyle's field and extensive country round that may be made infinitely strong, and will answer the purpose well, if it is not *too* high and inaccessible. This you must examine into.

I have too great an opinion of your good sense and discretion to think you need any admonition to induce you to a diligent discharge of your duty. You see our situation, know our danger, and bear witness of the people's sufferings, which are sufficient excitements to a generous mind.

As many things will occur that I cannot possibly direct in, let the interest of the service and your own prudence, assisted by the advice of

the officers under your command, be your direction. This instant I received yours of yesterday's date, and am extremely sorry that the Indians have visited us at this critical juncture of harvesting, especially as it will prevent your proceedings in the operations ordered. As your conduct must be guided by the movements and numbers of the enemy, I will not take upon me to order *positively* at this distance, but recommend it to you to consult your officers on all occasions, and act by their advice. If you can learn from good intelligence, that their numbers are great and motions designed for Virginia, endeavor to give the inhabitants notice that they may lodge their women and children, and assist against the enemy.

If you find they are only flying parties of the Indians, I would advise the settlers by no means to neglect their harvest, as their whole support depends upon it, and your assistance to get it in.

I must order above all things that you will send out small parties, or rather single persons, as spies every day, up and down the river for a number of miles, to see if they can make any discovery of the enemy's crossing. I have sent you two barrels of powder, and four boxes of ball. As to cartridge paper, I neither have nor can get any upon no terms. You must get horns and pouches, if

you send over the neighborhood for them. Transmit me constant accounts of the enemy, if they continue in your neighborhood.

**To CAPTAIN ROBERT STEWART**

Winchester, July 27, 1756.

Sir: I received yours and immediately set the Smith to work about the Tools; which you will receive very soon: but as they are not necessary for beginning the work, need not delay you.

I can not pretend at this time to fix on a day for your march, as the Enemy are about us. It must be left to yourself to determine: If it can be done without leaving the Inhabitants in danger, the sooner you march the better. But if you judge, from the accounts you receive, that they will be exposed by your quitting the place; I would have you remain there sometime longer. I designed to have made the Gate wider, but thought it would cramp the guard-rooms too much: if you think they will be large enough, you may widen the gate. I desire you will send me an exact Return of your Company, agreeable to the enclosed; and I must have weekly returns made me in the usual manner, of your own Company; and direct Captain Gist to the same.

As to providing a Surgeon for your

Detachment, it is impossible it can be done. The Committee have only allowed two; who must be kept at this and Fort Cumberland, as there is the greatest number at those two places. I can not pretend to allow the Doctor now with you any thing, unless upon extraordinary occasions. As to the Officers and men doing it, I have no objection. The Surgeon is obliged to furnish medicines for the men. The Commissary will be down with you to consult on the ways and means of supplying you with provision. As I have no concern with the Provisions nor medicines; you must for the future write to the Commissary and Surgeon upon those heads. I am, &c.

#### **To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER**

Winchester, July 29, 1756.

Sir: I received yours and much approve of your Halt, as the times are so perilous. The great distance I am from you, and the uncertain motions of the enemy, render it impossible for me to give you peremptory Orders. I would have you, however, not proceed to building the Forts until the

Harvest is well secured; in doing which you must give the inhabitants all the assistance in your power. I would then have you move on to the place mentioned in your instructions, about twenty miles above your upper fort, and finish one with all despatch; and then proceed on to the next body of Inhabitants, which I am told is about twenty miles above that, and erect a second. In the meantime I would have you procure the best intelligence you can, of the country between your fort

and Dinwiddie; and if you find it then as you represent it to me, halt, after building your second fort, until you receive further Orders from me.

I shall approve of the determination of your Officers in Council, so would have you consult them on all occasions (as I trust you will do the best for the Honor of the Service you are employed in) so must leave you to act as shall be judged most expedient by your Officers, in whom I put great confidence. As you have a pretty considerable force with you, I would have you disperse them in the best manner thro' the Inhabitants; to protect them while they are getting in their Harvest; which I would have secured before you proceed to fort building.

I would have you agree with Colonel Vanmeter, some other person, whom your judge most proper to do the duty of Commissary; who can give good Security for the well discharging his trust; and I will see that he has a reasonable allowance made. I received a petition from some of the inhabitants of the Branch, desiring that some of the Soldiers might be left there to protect them. I wrote you in my last, that Company must remain at their present post; and you may let them know I will leave all the assistance that it is possible, with them, which you must observe, is done.

The great distance and division of our Troops make it impossible to furnish, or even have a Surgeon convenient to every party.

I would advise you to employ some old woman from whom they have often relief; and what you allow her, shall be repaid you. I am, Sir, Yours &c.

## ORDERS

Winchester, July 30, 1756.

Parole Tunbridge.

Colonel Washington takes this method to inform the inhabitants of this town, that the Militia will be discharged in a short, time, and consequently the completing of the Fort be much retarded: He therefore hopes, and desires every family in town, will send a man to work upon it; and that every young Fellow, without the charge of a family, will readily give his assistance towards it.

As this public work is intended for the general good of the Country, it is hoped no other arguments need to be used to induce the towns people to contribute their assistance, than the singular advantages which must inevitably arise to this place in particular, both now and hereafter.

The Adjutant must acquaint the Inhabitants of the above Orders, and use his endeavours to enforce them.

**To ROBERT DINWIDDIE**

Winchester, August 4, 1756.

Honble. Sir: Giving the necessary orders and directions, about the chain of forts to be built on the frontiers, has kept me so closely employed, that I could not write fully to your Honor until this. But I have got that trouble *now* pretty well off my hands, as I have despatched orders, plans, and tools to all the officers appointed to that duty.

By the enclosed council held at Fort Cumberland, you will see our determination, there and where it is necessary to erect the forts. Although we have not kept strictly to the act of Assembly, I hope it will be overlooked, as I am sensible that this will be the best chain that can possibly be erected for the defence of the people, and that the Assembly aimed at that, but, being unacquainted with the situation of the country, had fallen into an error. Agreeable to

this council the chain is ordered to be built.

Your Honor, by the enclosed rolls of the companies, may see their present establishment; and I send you a copy of their former one, agreeable to your orders, together with the number of drafts from each county delivered at Fredericksburg. But many of them deserted on their march to this place, and after their arrival here; so we are short of that number now. What remain, are divided among the companies, to make them equal.

Captains Hogg and Waggener's rolls I cannot yet send, as they are not come to hand.

The two vacant companies, Captain Savage's and the late John Mercer's, as I had your Honor's approbation for the field officers having companies, are disposed of to Colonel Stephen and myself. The next vacancy the Major must fill.

I am very glad your Honor intends to order the drafts now to be made to be sent here. Prince William, Fairfax and Culpeper, are more convenient to this place than Fredericksburg. Then their being ordered here saves a ninety miles march.

I make no doubt, that your Honor has ere this heard of the defeat of Lieutenant Rutherford<sup>83</sup> of the Rangers, escorting an express to me at Fort Cumberland, and of the dastardly behaviour of the militia, who ran off without one half of them having discharged their pieces, altho they were apprised of the ambuscade by one of the flanking partys, before the Indians fired upon them; and ran back to Ashby's Fort, contrary to orders, persuasions, threats, &c. They are all ordered in, as soon as the people have secured their harvest. Those of King George and Caroline are

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83. John Rutherford, of prominence in New York, where he had been a member of the council, had come to Virginia with the independent company in 1754. He was afterwards a major in the Royal American Regiment and was killed before Ticonderoga in 1758.— *Ford*.

already here. The rest I expect shortly. Through the *passive* behaviour of their officers they have been very refractory.

Captain Stewart's troop has for these twelve months past, and must still continue to do duty on foot. Their pay is very great. I should be glad of your Honor's orders in regard to them, whether they are to be continued. I think with the number of men we have, there is but a poor prospect of finishing our forts in time, and a much worse of defending our frontiers properly, and I would be glad some expedient could be fallen upon to augment it.

There is an act of Parliament to allow all servants to enlist, and the owners to be paid a reasonable allowance for them. If we had this privilege, we could soon complete the regiment; and I doubt not but his Majesty would order them to be paid for, if we enlisted, as soon as for the regulars; nay, should he not, the ten pounds' fine through the country would go a considerable way towards it.<sup>84</sup> And this we may depend upon, if we have not this liberty granted us, the servants will all run off to the regular officers, who are recruiting about us; and that would be to weaken our colony much, when it could receive no immediate benefit from it, but only be benefited in a general way. For my part, I see no other expedient.<sup>85</sup>

Now your Honor sees plainly the effect the act of Assembly, in regard to the

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84. The act of assembly allowed a person drafted to pay £10 and escape service. The result was that most of the drafts paid the fine and the companies remained unfilled.

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85. The question of enlisting indentured servants—that is, immigrants who had hired themselves for a term of years to repay the money that had been advanced for their passage—proved a knotty problem to the Colonies. When completing the regiments after Braddock's defeat, the recruiting officers did not hesitate to take such servants, often secretly and generally without making recompense to the masters. In Maryland the planters of the eastern shore were so incensed by such acts that they attacked the recruiting officers and “some blood was spilt.” Gen. and Gov. William Shirley, though he could cite the example of Massachusetts, where indentured servants had been impressed and used for garrisoning the frontier forts, was convinced of its impolicy when applied to the middle colonies. The Assembly of Pennsylvania earnestly protested against the practice. (See *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, vol. 7, p. 37.) And Franklin, in his draft of instructions for the agents of the Colonies ( *Works*, vol. 2, pp. 491, 492, 513) instanced it as one of the grievances of which the province had cause to complain. “You must know that most of the servants in this country are more particularly their masters' property, than they are in any other parts of his Majesty's dominions, and that masters of such servants will easily resign their interest in them cannot, I think, be expected.”—J. Ridout in *Pennsylvania Archives*, vol. 2, p. 734. In Virginia such servants were expressly exempted from military duty, but slaves appear to have been taken.— *Ford*.

When Lord Loudoun succeeded Governor Shirley as commander of the forces in America, he was empowered to raise a regiment in the Colonies, consisting of four battalions, to be commanded by officers bearing the King's commission, and called the Royal American Regiment. He was authorized, also, to enlist servants of the above description, paying to their masters a proper compensation for the time they had yet to serve. Recruiting officers were now employed in Virginia, enlisting men for the Royal Regiment, and interfered essentially with the enlistments for the service of the colony. The governor endeavored to prevail on the assembly to draft militia for this regiment, but without success. They voted £8,000 to be paid for enlisting men and transporting them to New York.

The Maryland Assembly appropriated £5,000 to aid enlistments in that colony for the Royal Regiment and resolved to raise 300 men. A bounty was given not exceeding £5 for each man enlisted. A letter was received by the governor from Henry Fox, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, directing that the compensation to masters for enlisted servants should be paid by the colony; but the assembly refused to comply with this order by a majority of more than 2 to 1. (See *Votes and Proceedings*, Aug. 19, 1756.) Governor Dinwiddie said in reply: “If you can enlist servants agreeable to the act of Parliament, the master of such servant shall be paid for the time



they have to serve in proportion to the first purchase, but I think you should be careful not to enlist convicts, who may be fractious and bad examples to the others.”— *Sparks*.

draughts has had; and how little our strength has been augmented by that scheme, and in three or four months we shall not be the better for them. Then they are to be discharged.

I am confident, if we had authority to enlist servants, the regiment would have been complete ere this, and with little trouble, for many have offered, and many have been discharged after enlisting. Mr. Kirkpatrick will deliver your Honor a list of the preferments in my Regiment, with the dates of the officers commissions. There are five or six more still waiting. Lieutenant Stark has followed Frazier's example, upon the like occasion, being appointed to Captain Hogg's company.

I have sent Lieutenant Bullet to relieve Lieutenant McNeill, whose seniority entitles him to Captain-Lieutenancy, and he has my promise when a vacancy happens to have his commission antedated, and to take his proper rank in the regiment, as I take him to be a very diligent good officer, and as he was overlooked in the promotions, this indulgence has been promised him.

I could wish we were clear of Fort Cumberland. It takes a great part of our small force to garrison it, and I see no service it is to our colony; for since the Indians have drove the inhabitants so low down, they do not hesitate to follow them as far as Conogochiege and this place. There have been several families murdered within two miles of the mouth of Conogochiege, on the Maryland side, this week; and Fort Cumberland is now so much out of the way, that they seldom hear of those things within a month after

they are done. Our men want many necessaries, until the arrival of their regimentals, which cannot be had without sending to Philadelphia; and the great loss, we shall suffer by sending them our paper money, has prevented my purchasing these things, until the men are almost naked.

I should be glad your Honor would send me a letter of credit to Mr. Allen, or some person there; or gold or bills, for we cannot afford to put up with the loss of sending paper money, which I am credibly informed, may be bought up in Philadelphia for fifteen per cent *their* currency; so that the least we would lose by that traffic would be ten per cent.

We are in great want of drums here, and none can be bought. We now have many young drummers learning here, so I must beg you will please to order some immediately from Williamsburg to us, for we cannot do without them.

The rangers are still paid out of the money in my hands. I never received but one hundred pounds from Lord Fairfax, or Colonel George.

Captain Gist has some accompts. against the Country for necessary services. I doubt not your Honor will consider the justice of them, and assist the poor man in the affair, as he is put to great inconveniences for want of the money, has been obliged to advance his own, as far as it would go, and people to whom he owes balances upon that account are daily threatening him with suits.

Captain McNeill writes me that out of the three companies of rangers on the frontiers of Augusta, which ought to be one hundred and twenty men, there are not thirty. I hope your Honor will have that affair inquired into.

I am to be summoned against one Napp for making counterfeit paper money here. I desire your directions, whether I must appear or not. It may, perhaps, be at a time when I am much wanted here.

I could by no means bring the Quakers to any terms. They chose rather to be whipped to death than bear arms, or lend us any assistance whatever upon the fort, or any thing of self-defence. Some of their friends have been security for their appearance, when they are called for; and I have released them from the guard-house until I receive further orders from your Honour, which they have agreed to apply for.<sup>86</sup>

I am informed there has been application made to your Honor, for the discharge of some of the militia who enlisted here. As the case may have been represented to your Honor in a wrong light by prejudiced persons, I shall give you a true state of it, from my own knowledge.

After the militia were fixed on to march to their different posts, it was common for twenty or more to desert of a night. In consequence of which I despatched

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86. "I believe you will not be summoned on Napp's Affair, ... as I shall be glad you were here about the 20th of Nov. ... A great body of Quakers waited on me, in regard to their friends with you, praying they may not be whipped. Use them with lenity, but as they are at their own expense I would have them remain as long as the other Draughts."— *Dinwiddie to Washington*, Aug. 19, 1756. This letter is printed in full in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 1, p. 342.

the militia officers with what remained, and some of my own officers in pursuit of these deserters, who apprehended seventeen or eighteen of them and brought them to town. The militia had then

marched. To send these men after them I was certain would not answer; to avoid that, was the cause of their desertion. And I could not spare men to send an escort with them to their different parties; and if I had let them pass unpunished, it would have occasioned all the militia at work on the fort to desert. So I thought it most advisable to punish them, to deter the rest, and prevent a second fault in them, and accordingly ordered them twenty lashes each, and then intended to have set them to work on the fort.

When they had marched from the guard-house (where several had enlisted before any punishment was ordered them) some of the officers applied for money, and said all the militia would enlist; which I gave them, and at the same time a charge, to use no unfair means or threats, which they engaged.

In order to prevent any, I sent out Captain Mercer to acquaint them with my charge to the officers, and to tell them, that if any unfair means had been made use of to engage them to take the money, to declare it, and they should be allowed to return it, and further be acquainted with the indulgence allowed them by Act of Parliament; and that they had a right

to return the money within twenty four hours, if they should repent of what they had done in that time. They *all* declared their willingness to enlist, said no unfair means had been made use of, and that it was better to enlist at once than to be subject to be draughted every week. When they were soldiers they knew what to depend upon, which they could not before, as their being draughted at an unseasonable time might ruin them. They used the same arguments again to Captain Mercer, when he read the Articles of War to them; and he again repeated what he had told them before in the morning, as I have been assured by several of the officers then present.

The men have always appeared well satisfied, and never have made the least complaint; nor will not, I am sensible, if they are not persuaded to it by the people below. They have now been enlisted upwards of ten weeks, and are very good men, upon the whole.

I dare say your Honor will judge the men to be fairly enlisted, and that they are no ways entitled to a discharge, which will be applied for by some gentlemen below. But I shall take your Honor's directions on that point.

In obedience to your Honor's commands to incorporate the rangers into the regiment, I gave furloughs to the Captains (who both desired it) knowing they would oppose any measures to enlist the men;

and then sent some of my officers to use their influence to engage the men. Their success I have not yet heard of, but should be glad to know if you approve of this method, or will direct any other. As rangers under the present establishment, they are of no use or benefit to the country. This, I believe, your Honor, as well as the country, have long since been convinced of.

I have supplied the Nottoway Indians with some necessities, and have allowed them to take their arms with them; but they have received no pay, and say they were *promised* a Bitt<sup>87</sup> per day. Captain Torn has promised to go to the Tusks with a speech and wampum, which I have given them. He says they have an hundred fighting-men to spare. They would be a great assistance to us, if they could be engaged to come.

Besides the men on the rolls sent your Honor, there are about one hundred draught, not disposed of in the different companies which are at work on the fort, and garrisoning some of the country forts.

I have just received your Honor's letter of the 12th ultimo. If Mr. Timberlake will enter as a volunteer in the regiment, and wait, as others have done, his turn, I shall be glad to serve him. But I cannot pretend to put him

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87. A small piece of silver, probably the Spanish eighth of a dollar, or twelve and a half cents.—  
*Sparks.*

over young gentlemen who have served some months at their own expence, waiting preferment, without orders from your Honor; as such things have caused the greatest discontent and confusion in the regiment already.

I observe your Honor's proposal to Lord Loudoun<sup>88</sup> of carrying on an expedition against the Ohio. I have always thought it the best and *only* method to put a stop to the incursions of the enemy, as they would *then* be obliged to stay at home to defend their own possessions. But we are quite unprepared for such an undertaking. If it is fixed upon, *now* is the time for buying up provisions, and laying them in at the most convenient place. The Pennsylvania butchers are buying quantities of beef *here*, which should be put a stop to, if we are to march towards the Ohio. If we are still to remain on the defensive, and garrison the chain of forts, provisions must be laid in at each of them; and I much fear, if we march from the frontiers, all the inhabitants will quit their plantations. Your Honor's sentiments and orders on this head will be very agreeable to me, and shall be punctually complied with. By the latest advices from Augusta, it is thought that these outrages were committed by the

Cherokees. There have been no accounts of any thing since the first attempt; but still, I think it would not be improper to keep the militia on the frontiers to oppose a second; and if your

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88. The Earl of Loudoun had been appointed by the King to command in America.

Honor should think it proper to order them to assist on the forts to be built in Augusta, I think they could not better employ their time.

### To JOHN ROBINSON

Winchester, August 5, 1756.

Dear Sir: I hope you will not be surprized at my sudden demands for money, nor at the uncommon length of this epistle.

The five thousand pounds last received went chiefly in paying arrears which were due the soldiers for two months before; discharging sundry accompts. for necessaries for the regiment with many other things, as will appear per accompts. And the disappointments I have so often met with in settling my accompts. with the gentlemen of the Committee, and laying sundry matters before them for their approbation, oblige me to be more particular and prolix in this letter.

I flatter myself that my accompts. will appear in so clear a light that there can arise no scruple in the settlement, and that they may be adjusted in as full and distinct a manner by Mr. Kirkpatrick, as if I were present myself. There were some objections made to a few trifling articles before

(none of which I believe exceeded twenty shillings) for want of receipts. In this I own I was a little remiss, sometimes paying horse hire for a day or two, and such like incidental charges for the use of the public, without thinking it very material to draw receipts. Indeed, I have often made those payments at times when I had no opportunity of being thus particular. But I believe the whole amount of these does not exceed five pounds, and since that time I have not parted with a sixpence *without* . The paymaster I have sent down to evince any doubts that may arise in his accompts. I believe they are strictly just, tho' a little broken and irregular, representing our disjointed service in a *true* state. This was impossible to be avoided; tho' if you will consider, Sir, the disagreeable services we have been engaged in, the extent of ground and people to be defended, and the division of our force in recruiting, marching, counter-marching, and garrisoning of forts, guarding stores, &c, which rendered them so extremely difficult to pay, as well as to supply with such necessaries and conveniences, as to render the service tolerably supportable. Mr. Boyd was obliged to pay the

men when and where he could meet with them, without adhering to that regular form which ought to be observed. The Commissary stands charged with £—, which I have not had an opportunity to settle. Upon my return from Fort Cumberland a few days ago, I found him retired at his own house, indisposed; but received a letter informing that the money was just expended. This I have no doubt of, knowing the

demands he has had on account of provisions for the draughts and militia (occasioned by our whole stock being laid in at Fort Cumberland by the Governor's orders; which renders it useless to all the forces on this side); wagonage of all the flour and stores from Conogochieg, to secure them here; purchasing of tools, &c; for erecting the public works, ordered by Act of Assembly, &c.

All accompts. that appeared extravagant or not clear in other respects, or that I conceived I had no power to settle, I have referred them to the gentlemen of the Committee. Among these is Finnie's, for money advanced the soldiers while he was recruiting. This accompt may be, and doubtless is just; yet as it happened at a time when I had no concern with the forces, it is not to be expected I can have any knowledge of the matter. Therefore, unless it was to meet with your, or the concurrence of the Committee, I should not care to pay it. Moses Quales, who gives Mr. Finnie an order upon you for five pounds eighteen shillings, was among those who escaped from the overthrow of General Braddock, but was slain in Captain Mercer's defeat.

Captain McKenzie's accompt. for the hire of a vessel to transport his recruits to Alexandria, I did not care to allow without directions; tho' several officers have petitioned in the same manner, because they were to receive two pistoles a man, and eight

pence per day subsistence, as a full allowance (tho' quite too small) until they came to the rendezvous.

The article of rugs, he should be allowed. Doctor Shepherd also prefers an account for attending and administering to sundry recruits while they lay at Alexandria: as also Dr. Halkerson for those at Fredericksburg. These accompts you will please to have examined, and deliver your sentiments thereon.

Ensign Fleming has, at my request, acted as surgeon to Captain Hogg's company. He encloses an accompt. Pray order what you think sufficient for his trouble. Lieutenant Baker's accompt is also among these for twenty-three pounds, nine shillings and eleven pence; expences in going for and bringing the Nottaway Indians. In this I must crave directions. I could not get a more particular accompt than the one now sent, he being on command. Captain Gist also has at divers times entreated me, in the most interesting manner, to intercede in his behalf, that he may get the balance

of his accompt, his distresses calling aloud for all the assistance that all these sums can contribute. I do not know really, who to apply to for this purpose, or whose right it is to pay the accompt, but it is certainly wrong not to pay him at all. If a hearty zeal for the interest of this colony, many losses in serving it and true distress, can recommend him to any favor, he certainly merits indulgence. When he offers his accompts. to the Governor, his Honor bids him go to the committee; and the gentlemen of the committee think the Governor should pay

it. So that the poor man suffers greatly and would be glad to know his doom at once, as it has been so long depending. Many applications have been made to me for the ferriages of the forces in passing Shenandoah, Capecapon, the South Branch &c. I should be glad to know whether they are to be paid, and at what rates. I could heartily wish the governor and Committee would resolve me, whether Fort Cumberland is to be garrisoned with any of the Virginia forces or not. It lies in a most defenceless posture, and I do not care to be at expence in erecting *new*, or repairing the old works, until I am satisfied in this point.

This place at present contains all our provisions and valuable stores, and is not capable of an hour's defence, if the enemy were to bring only one single half-pounder against it; which they might do with great ease on horseback. Besides, it lies so remote *now* from this, as well as the neighbouring inhabitants, and at the same time is not a whir more convenient than Cocke's Fort, on Patterson's Creek, to the enemy, which is twenty five miles nigher this way, that it requires as much force to keep the communication open to it, as a fort at the Meadows would do, and employs 150 men, who are a *dead* charge to the country, as they can be of no other use than just to protect and guard the stores, which might as well be lodged at Cox's;<sup>89</sup> indeed better, for these reasons it would then be more contiguous to this, to the

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89. This fort was on Pattersons Creek, 25 miles from Fort Cumberland.

inhabitants, and to the enemy, if we should ever carry an expedition over the mountains, by opening a road the way the Indians have *blazed*.<sup>90</sup> A strong garrison there would not only protect the stores, but also the few remaining inhabitants on the Branch,<sup>91</sup> and at the same time waylay and annoy the enemy, as they pass and repass the mountains. Whereas, those at Fort Cumberland, lying out in a corner, quite remote from the inhabitants, to where the Indians always repair to do their murders, can have no intelligence of any thing that is doing, but remain in total ignorance of all transactions. When I was down, I applied to the Governor for his particular and positive directions in this affair. The following is an exact copy of his answer. "Fort Cumberland is a King's fort, and built chiefly at the charge of the colony, therefore properly under our direction, until a governor is appointed."<sup>92</sup> Now

whether I am to understand this ay or no, to the plain, simple question asked, vizt. "Is the fort to be continued or removed?" I know not. But in all important matters I am directed in this ambiguous and uncertain way.<sup>93</sup>

Great and inconceivable difficulties arise in the execution of my commands, as well as infinite loss and disrepute to the service, by my not having power to pay for deserters. I would, therefore, humbly recommend it to the consideration of the Committee, whether it would not be more for the interest of the country, (I am sure it would be of

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90. Blazing consists in stripping a vertical piece of bark from the tree trunk so the white wood shows; each blaze was within sight of the other and an experienced woodsmen could travel by such direction without hesitation.

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91. The South Branch of the Potomac.

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92. Both Sparks and Ford put Washington in the wrong. The original letter is in the *Washington Papers*, and Washington's quotation is exact and correct.

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93. "The Committee were all of opinion with you, that the keeping Fort Cumberland was an unnecessary expense; but upon my mentioning their opinion to the Governor, he appeared very warm, and said my Lord Loudoun might do what he pleased, but for his part he would not remove the garrison, or order the fort to be demolished for his right hand."— *Robinson to Washington*, Aug. 19, 1756. This letter is printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 1, p. 349.

the service,) were I allowed to pay these demands, rather than have them levied in the public claims. Many of our deserters are apprehended in Maryland, and some in Pennsylvania, and, for the sake of a reward, are brought hither. But when they are to receive certificates only, that they are entitled to two hundred pounds of tobacco, and those certificates are to be given in to a court of claims, there to lie perhaps till they are quite forgot, gives so much dissatisfaction, that many, I believe, rather than apprehend *one*, would aid *fifty* to escape, and this, too, among our own people. By this means the country loses numbers of men: consequently the sums of money which each man costs, besides many incident charges, such as horse hire, expenses in sending after and advertising them.

Another thing, I should be glad to know, and that is, whether the act of Assembly prohibits the whole forces, or only the draughts, from marching out of Virginia, and whether it is contrary to law, even to take the draughts out, provided it is done with their own *will*. If we cannot take any of the forces out of the colony, the disadvantages, the country may labor under, are not to be described; for



the enemy, in that case, may commit the most unheard-of cruelties, and, by stepping across the Potomac, evade the pur

suit, and mock our best endeavors to scourge them.

The inconveniences that arise from paying the soldiers in large bills, are not to be conceived. We are obliged afterwards to give the pay of two or three soldiers to one man. He, ten to one else, drinks, games, or pays it away; by which means the parties are all dissatisfied, and perpetually complaining for want of their pay. It also prevents them from laying out their pay for absolute necessities, and obliges them many times to drink it out; for they put it into the tavern-keeper's hands, who will give no change, unless they consent to take the greatest part in liquor. In short, for five shillings *cash* you may at any time purchase a month's pay from the soldiers; in such contempt do they hold the currency. Besides small bills, (if the thing is practicable,) I should be extremely glad to receive some part of the money in Spanish and Portugal gold and silver. There are many things wanted for the use of the regiment, which cannot be had here, and may at Philadelphia; but their undervaluing of our money, has prevented my sending thither.

When I went to Fort Cumberland I left fifty pounds with Capt. Peachy, to pay the workmen once a week, as I had usually done, which money, with some of his own, he was robbed of, and the most diligent search has not been successful in getting the least intelligence of it. I should be glad to know whether I am to suffer

this loss, or whether I may with propriety charge it to the country?

At the repeated instances of the soldiers, I must pay so much regard to their representations, as to transmit their complaints. They think it extremely hard, as it is indeed, Sir, that *they*, who perhaps do more duty, and undergo more fatigue and hardship, from the nature of the service and situation of the country, than any troops upon the continent beside should be allowed the *least pay*, and smallest encouragements in other respects. The Carolinians received British pay; the Marylanders, I believe, do the same; Pennsylvania is exorbitant in rewarding their soldiers;<sup>94</sup> the Jerseys and New Yorkers, I do not remember what it is they give; but the New England governments give more than a shilling per day, our money, besides an allowance of rum, peas, tobacco, ginger, vinegar, &c, &c.

Our soldiers complain, that their pay is insufficient, even to furnish shoes, shirts, stockings, &c, which their officers, in order to keep them fit for duty, oblige them to provide. This, they say, deprives them of the means of purchasing any of the conveniences or necessities of life, and obliges them to drag through a disagreeable service, in the most disagreeable manner. That their pay will not afford more than enough (if that) to keep them in clothes, I should be convinced of for these reasons, if

experience had not taught me. The British soldiers are allowed eight pence sterling per day, with many necessaries that ours are not,

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94. Pennsylvania was paying its soldiers 18d. a day and subsistence.— *Ford*.

and can buy what is requisite upon the cheapest terms; and lie one half the year in camp or garrison, when they cannot consume the fifth part of what ours do in continual marches over mountains, rocks, rivers, &c, is computed to receive only — per day. Then, Sir, is it possible that our men, who receive a fourth less, have two pence per day stoppages for their regimental clothing, and all other stoppages made that British soldiers have, and are obliged, by being in continual action, to lay in triple the quantity of ammunition and clothes, and at double the price, should be able to clear quarters? It is *not* to be done, and this is the reason why the men have always been so naked and bare of clothes.

And I dare say you will be candid enough to allow, that there are few men who would choose to have their lives exposed, without some view or hope of a reward, to the incessant insults of a merciless enemy. Another thing there is which gives them great uneasiness, and that is, seeing no regular provision made for the maimed and wounded. They acknowledge the generosity of the Assembly, and have the highest veneration for that respectable House; they look with gratitude on the care, that has been taken of their brother soldiers; but say, this is only an act of *will*, and another Assembly may be much less liberal. We have no certainty, that this generosity may continue, consequently can have nothing in view but the most gloomy prospects, and no encouragement to be bold and active; and the probable effects of which are

wounds, which no sooner happen and they unfit for service than they are discharged, and turned upon an uncharitable world to beg, steal, or starve! In short, they have a true sense of all that can happen, and do not think slightly of the fatigues they encounter, in scouring these mountains with their provisions on their backs, lying out and watching for the enemy, with no other covering or conveniency to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather, than trees and rocks! The old soldiers are affected, and complain of their hardships and *little* encouragement in piteous terms; and give these as reasons for so much desertion. The money that is given in paying for deserters, expresses, horse-hire, losses and abuse of horses, would go a great length toward advancing their pay, which I hope would contribute not a little towards removing the cause of this expense. I would not have it here understood, tho', that I mean to recommend any thing extraordinary; no, I would give them British pay, and entitle them to the same privileges during their stay in the service, and as a reward or compliment for their toil, rather than a matter of right. Were the country to give them one suit of regimental clothes a year, without receiving the two pence stoppage, it would be a full

allowance, and give great content and satisfaction. All they want (they say) is to be entitled to the privileges and immunities of sol

diers, of which they are well informed, by some who have been a number of years in the army, then they should think it no hardship to be subject to the punishments and fatigues. Were this done, and an order given by the Committee empowering me to provide for them, according to the rules and customs of the army, I then should know what I was about, and could do it without hesitation or fear, and, am convinced, to the satisfaction and interest of the country. As the case *now* stands, we are upon such odd establishment, under such uncertain regulations, and subject to so much inconvenience, that I am wandering in a wilderness of difficulties, and am ignorant of the ways to extricate myself, and to steer for the satisfaction of the country, the soldiers, or myself. Having no certain rules for the direction of my conduct, I am afraid to turn to this hand or to that, lest it should be censured. If such an order, as I before spoke of, was to issue from your Board, I would then immediately provide upon the best terms a quantity of all kinds of ammunition, clothes, &c. for the use of the regiment, and deliver them out to each company, as their wants required, taking care to deduct the value of all such things from their pay. By this means the soldiers are always provided and fit for duty, and do it cheerfully, and the country sustains no other loss, than advancing and lying out of the money for a few months to lay in those stores, as this money is always restored by the soldiers again.<sup>95</sup>

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95. These requests, in regard to the soldiers, were so far complied with, that the soldiers afterwards received full pay without any stoppage for their clothing. (See Washington's letter to Adam Stephen, September 6, *post.*)

I have hitherto been afraid to advance any sums of money for this salutary purpose, and always bought at extravagant prices, and have been obliged to send to different parts, ere they could be had, which has also contributed to the cause of their nakedness. The officers are almost as uneasy and dispirited as the men, doing every part of duty with languor and indifference. When they are ordered to provide themselves with suitable necessities, they complain of an uncertain establishment, and the probability of being disbanded, and so, things rendered useless. So that I really most heartily wish for a change. The surgeon has entreated me to mention his case, which I shall do by enclosing his letters. He has behaved extremely well, and discharged his duty, in every capacity, since he came to the regiment. He has long discovered an inclination to quit the service, the encouragement being so small; and I believe would have done it, had not the officers, to show their regard and willingness to detain him, subscribed each one day's pay in every month. This, as they are likely to be so much dispersed, and can receive no benefit from him, they intend to withdraw, (he

says) and therefore begs me to solicit the gentlemen of the Committee in his behalf; otherwise he shall be obliged to seek some other method of getting his livelihood.

If it is thought necessary to establish an hospital, I believe there can scarcely be a doubt

but that this is the place; and then I hope he will be appointed director, with advanced pay. Whether or not, I could really wish his pay or perquisites was increased, for the reasons he gives.

I beg, Sir, with very great earnestness, that the gentlemen of the Committee will communicate their sentiments fully upon all these several matters, and approve or disapprove of every thing therein. I only wait to know their intention, and then act in strict conformity thereto.

Since writing the preceding pages, I find on examining Mr. Boyd's accompts. that he has unadvisably paid Mr. Finnie<sup>96</sup> what arrears were due Quales. But having already appealed for approbation of the Committee in this and other accompts, which I had no distinct knowledge of, or concern in, I yet submit to your determination, and Mr. Finnie must abide by your judgment, and refund if found reasonable.

If the Committee find my account satisfactory and distinct, as I have no doubt of it, it would be a great obligation, if they would make a final settlement to that date, and begin a new account, as it would be the means of keeping matters more clear and intelligible hereafter. For long accounts and references to doubtful points, instead of gaining any light, are but darkened and confused by procrastination. The late regulation of our companies will occasion more regularity in the paymaster's account, and be more satisfactory in every shape, for the future. Besides, the gentlemen of the Committee

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96. Alexander Finnie.

will find little trouble, or difficulty, in overhauling short accounts, kept in a regular method, plain and perspicuous, which is the very life of business.

I would again entreat your regard to my request, for these and many other reasons. I am, etc.

**To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER**

Winchester, August 5, 1756.

Sir: I have so many places and people to defend; so great calls from every quarter for men, and so little prospects for getting any, that I find it impossible to comply with the act of Assembly, and opinion of the Council of War, in building the chain of forts on the frontiers. You must therefore, notwithstanding all the orders which have heretofore been given, immediately despatch Captain Bell, with his whole company to Captain Cox's fort; where he is to remain himself with twenty men, taking command of said fort, and escorting all Expresses, wagons, &c, to and from Fort Cumberland, as far as Ashby's and Pearsalls. The rest of his men he is to divide into two equal parts; one of which, with his En

sign, is to march to, and be stationed at Kirkendalls, for the protection of the people there. The other party, with a trusty sergeant is to march to, and put themselves under the direction of the officer commanding at Ashby's, in order to strengthen that garrison and enable them to afford escorts with the greater safety. Your own and the two remaining companies, you are to dispose of in the most eligible manner for the protection of the inhabitants above the Trough; and I could most earnestly wish that you would, if the thing is practicable, erect a fort in that settlement, twenty miles above your upper fort, that the people in those parts may be sheltered from the enemy, and that we may so far as is possible, shew our willingness to comply with the laws of our country that direct this chain.

I wrote you yesterday, desiring that all the captains would be punctual in making me exact weekly returns, to be signed by themselves and officers, of the state and strength of their companies, and must repeat those orders, as I am fully resolved to suspend the first captain or commander of a company that neglects in sending me them; or that is careless in correcting or returning them exact, tho' they may vary but a *man* .

All the militia that are not already marched, must be immediately ordered down, to call at this place to lodge their arms. I am, etc.

**To CAPTAIN ROBERT McKENZIE**

Winchester, August 5, 1756.

Sir: I wrote you yesterday; since which I have received yours of the 3d. instant, and observe the contents. I find it impossible with the few men I have to erect a chain of Forts on the Frontiers; as the Assembly have ordered, and the Council of the 10th. instant advised: For which reason, and to relieve yours, as well as the complaints of others, the enclosed to Captain Waggener covers

Instructions to Captain Bell, to march with his Company immediately to Cox's Fort, where he is to remain with twenty men, to cover and secure all convoys, expresses, &c. that are passing and repassing to and from Fort Cumberland; as you are likewise to do betwixt him and Edwards's. The remainder of Captain Bells' men are to be divided into two parties, one of which is to strengthen the garrison at Ashby's, for the aforesaid purposes, while the other with his Ensign, remains at Kirkendalls, for the protection of that Settlement. By this means you will be eased from that duty; and by drawing off your Force left at Cox's (which you are to do, so soon and not before Captain Bell arrives there) you will be enabled with your whole Company to oppose the enemy, and afford the stronger Escorts. I would urge it as very necessary to erect a covert-way to secure your water, which might be done with great ease and tolerable security, with nothing more than a common fence eight or ten feet deep, covered

at top: It should be a staked fence and strait, two stakes drove in the ground a foot asunder, at the distance of a sails length from the water, and filled in close, will be sufficient proof against musquetry.

What relief to afford, or how to direct you concerning your provisions, I know not. The Commissary whose business it is, has been absent this month: while you have grain in the fort you can not suffer; tho' put to difficulty in getting it ground. Your meat make Pearsall buy, and in his Fields; his protection was one motive among others, of your being there; and he can do no less for your present support. What store of provisions is wanting, must be laid in, so soon as the Governor directs, to whom I have wrote.

I had no opportunity of directing further about the Rangers, but you are now to acquaint Mr. Lemon, that he is to remain at his Fort, and act as Lieutenant to the Rangers, until further orders: and when he has retired from *that*, he may seek a Service which he more prefers, since he has refused my offer. Tell him also not to stir from thence at his peril, until he has leave; if he does, I will arrest him for disobedience of orders, and try him so soon as he arrives here. In my letter of yesterdays date, I desired that you would be punctual in sending me exact weekly returns, to be signed by yourself and Officers, of the strength and state of your company: and do again repeat that order; as I am fully resolved to suspend the first Captain or Commander of a Company who fails in sending them regularly to me; or is negligent or careless in making them

out; if an error is found of one single man, I will do it. By my returns of the strength of the Regiment, Companies of Rangers, &c. and by the size-rolls delivered by each Officer; I can make only 926 men, while Mr. Boyd makes 1080 paid; what am I, or what is the Governor, who examines these returns, to think of them? Sure, the most favourable construction that can be made of this is, that the Officers

have very little concern in the management of their Companies, to suffer such idle and different returns. I am &c.

**To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN**

Winchester, August 5, 1756.

Sir: Yours of the 20th ultimo and 1st inst. I have just received. I am sorry to hear you even mention recalling Capt. McKenzie from his post. It must have been an extraordinary occasion that would have reconciled me to that proceeding, which would have left Cox's, Pearsalls, and Kirkendalls forts quite defenceless, to strengthen a garrison which was only intended to defend the stores, and might be protected by 100 against musketry, as well as by more; and all the men we have could not save it against any thing else. I have, in order to strengthen the several garrisons that maintain

the communications with Fort Cumberland, ordered Captain Bell to march to Cox's, and there remain with twenty men, while the rest of his company is equally divided, one part to strengthen Ashby's, the other to protect the inhabitants at Kirkendalls. By this means McKenzie's company will be kept entire at Pearsalls, and enable him to furnish the stronger escorts. I hope you will mention that matter to Rutherford, which we talked of at Fort Cumberland, about recruiting the rangers. The militia now can neither serve nor disserve us, for, they are by the Governor's directions, all called in. The views of the enemy are designed against the lower inhabitants. They have laid Maryland and Pennsylvania waste, as low as Carlisle, the inhabitants of which place we are told are flying with the utmost consternation. They have made an attempt on the Virginia side, killed one and captivated another on the Conogochieg road, four miles hitherwards, but retreated back, for how long a time, God knows. I communicated the contents of yours to the Doctor concerning the medicines, and he will send them up so soon as procured. At present he has none of them.

Having occasion to write to Captain Waggener, I have ordered him to despatch the men belonging to your garrison immediately.\*\*\*<sup>97</sup>

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97. The omitted portion is a verbatim repetition of his direction to Captain Waggener, August 5, *ante*, regarding exact returns.

By my returns of the regiment including drafts, scouts and rangers, I can only make 926 men; while Mr. Boyd, exclusive of Captain Hogg's company, has issued pay for 1080. What am I, or what are the Governor and Committee, before whom all these widely different returns must be laid for examination, to think of them? Sure the least they can say is, that [it] is unhappy for the country to



have officers so little acquainted with the management of their companies as to make returns to me for 926 men only, and others to the Paymaster for 1080. You desire to have a map sent you of the lakes, &c. I have none but Evans's, which you have *also* : nor have I heard a syllable from Major Lewis, altho' Mr. Jones is now here from Augusta; nor any thing about an engagement on the Lakes. I am, etc.

## ORDERS

Winchester, August 7, 1756.

Parole Dorset.

As every method hitherto practised has been found ineffectual to restrain the paltry tippling houses and Ginn-shops in this town, from selling liquor, contrary to orders, to the Soldiers, to the Detriment of His Majesty's Service, and irreparable loss of their own Health. It is hereby expressly ordered, that as many men as the Tents will contain, do immediately encamp; and all the rest, except those in the Hospital be on Monday, new quartered upon Brinker, Heath and Lemon; who are charged not to sell more than a reasonable quantity of liquor, and at reasonable rates to each man per day; as they will answer the contrary. And any Soldier or Draught who is found drinking in any of the other houses, or who is known to purchase, by direct or indirect means, any liquor from other places; or who shall be found ever going into, or sitting down in any of the other houses, without giving a sufficient excuse why he did so; shall immediately receive 50 lashes, without the benefit of a Court Martial. And all the Officers are strictly required to see all these Orders strictly complied with. It appearing by the Returns,

that there are many more women drawing provisions than what are necessary. It is hereby ordered, that only twelve be allowed provisions; and those to wash and cook for the men; or be struck out of the return, and no provisions be allowed them.

As there appears to be no immediate danger, the Guard for the ease of the Soldiers, is to be reduced to a Sergeant and twelve; who are to mount at the usual time of retreat-beating. As this will afford great relief to the workmen, it is expected they will continue longer at their work in the evening, and turn out earlier in the morning. And, as an encouragement to them to behave well, and to attend diligently to their Duty, the Colonel promises to give them, so long as they deserve it, four gallons of rum, made into punch, every day. And the Officer of the Day, who is to give close attention to the work during his tour of duty; is to see that they have it: and also to see that the working-tools are



brought and lodged every night at the Guard-house. The Militia of the several Counties that are now in town, are to be immediately discharged.

## **ORDERS**

Winchester, August 8, 1756.

Parole Epsom.

Colonel Washington requests it once more of the Officers who review their

men, to be very particular that none of their Ammunition is wanting; as there are frequent complaints of deficiencies, notwithstanding they were completed last week: and suspect it is wasted by means of the Soldiers firing in the woods. Therefore, the first that is found discharging his piece either at marks or game, shall be most severely punished; beside paying for the ammunition exhausted or carelessly lost.

Notwithstanding there have been orders given that no man should cut off his hair, yet the Colonel has observed that some of them have acted contrary to these Orders. He desires the Officers will take notice of those persons, and confine them. His Honor, Governor Dinwiddie has been pleased to appoint Lieutenant John McNiel, Captain-Lieutenant in the Virginia Regiment, whereof George Washington Esquire is Colonel; and to be obeyed as such. All orders relating to the men, to be read to them in the presence of an Officer.

## **To CAPTAIN-LIEUTENANT JOHN McNEILL**

Winchester, August 12, 1756.

Sir: You are to proceed with the party under your command to the Plantation of Henry Enock; and then endeavour to dispose of your men in such a manner, as to way-lay and surprize the Enemy if possible; or to enquire from the height of the Hills or Mountains, if any discovery can be made of their sleeping places, by their fires or smoke, which will appear very distinctly in the night, tho' at a distance. You may remain at and about this place, searching for the tracks of the enemy, until Saturday morning; and if in that time you can make no discoveries (by which your conduct must be guided) you must cross away over (if you find it more elligible than going down Capecaupon) to the old road which leads from Edwards's to the Branch at Pearsalls, and dispose of your men in the most

secure and private manner upon that road; watching to see if you can meet with the Enemy, passing or repassing.

On this road, and in this manner you are to

remain, until your provision is out; and then repair to Edwards's Fort; where you will receive a sufficiency to bring you to this place, which I expect will be on Tuesday; except you have a prospect of some manifest advantages, by staying out longer. In that case, your return is left discretionary.

I must advise you above all things, to take every precaution to guard against Surprises. To give every man his orders, that he may act bravely and without confusion. Inspire them with a just notion of their duty; and note every mans behaviour which with an account of your proceedings, and these Instructions, must be returned to me as soon as you return.

### **To ROBERT DINWIDDIE**

Winchester, August 14, 1756.

Honble. Sir: The return of the express, that came with La Force's escape, (for which accident I am extremely concerned, and fear its productions if he is not retaken,) affords me an opportunity to inform your Honor of some occurrences, which have happened since my last.<sup>98</sup>

Repeated complaints and applications from all quarters for men, but more especially from the garrisons which secure the communication with Fort Cumberland, (a place very useless in itself, and expensive to the country; containing an hundred and fifty men solely employed in guarding the stores, which could be better defended at any other place) obliged me to order a company from Captain Waggener's detachment (for none else could spare a man) to reinforce and enable those garrisons to send escorts with wagons and expresses, going to and returning from Fort Cumberland. This reduced Captain Waggener's command to a number insufficient to disperse parties among the settlers, and retain a strength to conduct the buildings. Therefore, the grand point then turned on this: whether he was to neglect the inhabitants and build the forts, or neglect the forts and mind the inhabitants.

His council were of the latter opinion unanimously, and sent to know my sentiments, which I own corresponded with theirs, for these reasons. First, I look upon it, that the

98. La Force, it will be remembered, was one of the prisoners taken in the skirmish with Jumonville's party. He was capable, enterprising, active, and had been instrumental, before his capture, in exciting the Indians to commit depredations on the frontiers. He was thrown into the jail at Williamsburg. From this abode, after more than two years' confinement, he had the address to escape, but was seized before he had advanced far into the country, remanded to prison, and loaded with irons.— *Sparks*.

protection of the inhabitants was the motive for ordering these forts; and to lose them, while we are at work, is perverting the intention. Secondly, we have built some and altered other forts, as far south on the Potomac waters as any settlers have been molested; and there only remains one body of inhabitants, at a place called the Upper Tract, which needs a guard upon these waters, and thither I have ordered a party. After this, if I am not misinformed, there is nothing but a continued series of mountains uninhabited, until we get over on James river waters, not far from that fort, which takes its name from your Honor; down which to Mayo River, Captain Hogg, by your Honor's orders, is to have the direction of. If I have done amiss, in not adhering to the *letter* of the *law*, I hope your Honor will intimate the same, and give directions how I am to proceed.

There have been two or three men killed and scalped at different places, since my last, though every precaution has been taken to prevent it. The fatiguing service, low pay, and great hardships in which our men have been engaged, cause, notwithstanding the greatest care and vigilance to the contrary, great and scandalous desertions. Yesterday I received an account from Captain Stewart, of sixteen deserting in a party. Frequently two or three went off before, as they have done from this place. We never fail to pursue, and use all possible means to apprehend them; but seldom with success, as they are generally aided

and assisted off by the inhabitants. There are now two parties in pursuit of these fellows, who have made towards the northward to enlist with the recruiting officers in Pennsylvania, &c. I fear without a stop can be put to it we shall lose numbers of our men.<sup>99</sup> A report prevailed in town yesterday, said to come from a man, who had it from a person who was at Governor Morris's treaty with the Indians, and heard them say, that a large body composed of different nations, and headed by some French, intended to attack Fort Cumberland this fall. Reports of this kind often take rise without good foundation; yet, as this is an affair of great importance, the slightest intelligence ought not to be discountenanced, especially when we consider that our provision, and, what is still more valuable, all our ammunition and stores, are lodged in that defenceless place. The consequence of a successful enterprise of this sort, and the absolute impossibility (considering the weakness of the place, badness of situation, and division of our force) to preventing its falling, are, without previous notice, motives sufficient to apprehend the worst. Therefore, notwithstanding I enlarged on

this subject in a former letter, think it my duty to hint *this again* , and to get directions how I am to proceed.

It is true, I give no credit to this intelligence, because I flatter myself such important information as this would be communicated, in the most distinct and expeditious manner, by Governor Morris; yet, as I before said, it being an expedition they cannot fail of succeeding in, what should deter

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99. "The many desertions from your corps and our militia give me much concern, as it must be known to the enemy, and encourage their so-frequent invasions and hostilities, Our several captains were ordered out last Sunday, to enquire after, search for, and apprehend the deserters from Captain Minor and Captain Hamilton, but without success, which denotes a too-great pusillanimity or want of consideration on our country's lying naked and almost defenceless against an implacable and bloodthirsty crew of savages. None can wonder if Colonel Washington is uneasy at the backwardness of the Lower Country's not sending their drafted men to complete his regiment. He has great reason to repeat and often enforce his representations. It is on record, you know, that a certain widow gained her suit by much importunity and teasing."— *W. Fairfax to Bryan Fairfax*, Aug. 1, 1756.

them from attempting it? We have certain advice, that two of our deserters have reached Fort Duquesne, and were heard to speak in high terms, before they went off (but this not known till after they were gone) of the reward that would be got for communicating the weakness of the works and garrison at Fort Cumberland. All the militia are returned save thirty from Culpeper, who stay willingly with Captain Fields.

As a general meeting of all the persons concerned in the estate of my deceased brother<sup>1</sup> is appointed to be held at Alexandria, about the middle of September next, for making a final settlement of all his affairs; and as I am very deeply interested, not only as an executor and heir to part of his estate, but also in a very important dispute, subsisting between Colonel Lee,<sup>2</sup> who married the widow, and my brothers and self, concerning advice<sup>3</sup> in the will, which brings the whole personal estate in question,—I say, as this is a matter of very great moment to me, I hope your Honor will readily consent to my attending this meeting, provided no disadvantage is likely to arise during my absence; in which case, I shall not offer to quit my command.

If war is to be declared at this place, I should be glad if your Honor would direct the manner. I know there is ceremony required, but the order I am ignorant of.<sup>4</sup> I am, &c.

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1. Lawrence Washington.

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2. George Lee. He was an uncle of Arthur and Richard Henry Lee; married Mrs. Lawrence Washington.

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3. The difficulty with this word is caused by the carelessness of the 1784–85 copyist. Sparks's suggestion that “a devise” is meant seems the correct solution. In 1754 Washington obtained a legal opinion from George Mercer on the devise of the Mount Vernon negroes, and as late as 1769 an opinion from Edmund Pendleton on the devise of certain lands of his father's estate.

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4. War against France had been formally declared by the King on May 17. Notice of this action was published in Williamsburg August 7. Governor Dinwiddie answered (August 21): “The method, you are to declare war, is at the head of your companies, with three vollies of small arms for his Majesty's health and a successful war.”

### **To LORD FAIRFAX**

Winchester, August 29, 1756.

My Lord: It is with infinite concern, I see the distresses of the people, and hear their complaints, without being able to afford them relief. I have so often troubled your Honor for aid from the militia, that I am almost ashamed to repeat my demands; nor should mention them again, did I not think it absolutely necessary at this time to save the most valuable and flourishing part of this county from immediate desertion. And how soon the remainder part, as well as the adjacent counties, may share the same fate, is too obvious to reason, and to your Lordship's good sense for me to demonstrate. The whole settlement of Conogochieg in Maryland is fled, and there now remain only two families from thence to Fredericktown, which is several miles below the Blue Ridge. By which means we are quite exposed, and have no

better security on that side, than the Potomac River, for many miles below the Shenandoah; and how great security that is to us, may easily be discerned, when we consider, with what facility the enemy have passed and repassed it already. That the Maryland settlements are all abandoned is certainly *fact*, as I have had the accounts transmitted to me by several hands, and confirmed yesterday by Henry Brinker, who left Monocacy the day before, and also affirms, that three hundred and fifty wagons had passed that place to avoid the enemy, within the space of three days.

I thought it expedient to communicate the above in order to inform your Lordship of the reasons for asking succours for these unhappy people, and how absolutely necessary it is to use, (without delay,) such vigorous measures as will save that settlement from total desolation.

We see, my Lord, the absurdity of the people's arguments, and the consequences of leaving one county, nay, one *part* of the county, or, to go still farther, a single company, that is more exposed than another, to defend itself and the parts in danger. When Hampshire was invaded, and called upon Frederick for assistance, the people of the latter refused their aid, answering, "Let them defend themselves, as we shall do if they come to us." Now the enemy have forced through that county, and begin to infest this, those a little removed from danger are equally infatuated; and will be, I fear, until all in turn fall a sacrifice to an insulting and merciless enemy.

These observations may be improperly offered to

your Lordship, but they occur in so refulgent a light to me, that I could not resist the impulse of dictating them. I am so weak-handed here, that I could not, without stagnating the public works, spare a man to these people's assistance. Yet I look upon the retaining of them to be so essential to the well-being of the county in general, that I have ordered all the men, that can possibly be spared, to march thitherwards; and they accordingly set out tomorrow morning, to remain there until your Lordship can relieve them, that they may return to these works, which in my opinion are of no little importance to the safety of the county, if we should be attacked by numbers, as we have reason to apprehend. I hope your Lordship will exert your authority in raising men for this salutary end, and that you will think it advisable to make every company furnish their quota. This will redress the complaints of the people below, who say they cannot leave their families to the mercy of the enemy, while they are scouring the woods.

This is the reason given by some why Caton's party consists but of ten men, while others say it proceeds from dislike to the *man*. I acquainted his Honor the Governor with your Lordship's order for raising fifty men for this service, who approved thereof, and has been pleased to direct me to continue them there so long as I see cause.

I cannot conclude without again mentioning how agreeable it would be, if your Lordship would order a party immediately to these parts, that I may withdraw my men to their duty at this place.<sup>6</sup> I am, my Lord, &c.

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6. Lord Fairfax immediately ordered a militia captain and 36 men to march to the upper Potomac.

## ORDERS

Winchester, August 30, 1756.

Parole Babylon.

Colonel Washington being inclined upon all occasions to shew his willingness to serve the deserving and industrious men of his Regiment: And at the same time, resolved to punish in the most exemplary manner, all irregularities in the illdisposed. Takes this method to acquaint the workmen that did not work, in order to prevent counterfeit sickness, and other pretences to avoid *this* Duty. But as by this means the best as well as worst and idlest men, suffered equally alike. He assures those, who by their constant and steady attachment to the Service, have approved themselves good Soldiers, that *he* will not only continue their pay for all Days to come, while they are employed on the public Works; but will also see at the next payment, that they receive the sums which were deducted at this. And will also do the same justice to those who have hitherto endeavoured, by all idle practices, to avoid this necessary Work. If they will amend their manners, and attend diligently to their duty. And in order to prevent any but lawful Excuses screening them from their Duty. It is hereby ordered, that the Rolls of each Company be regularly called twice a day,

as before directed; when the Officer is to be present, and inspect narrowly into the matter, to see that no imposition is offered by the Sergeants. As the Sergeants have extraordinary pay for overlooking the men at work, it is expected that they will be diligent in their Duty: Those who are found to be the least remiss, will be punished. They are also to answer for the misbehaviour of the men under their command. The Sergeant-Major is also to attend, to receive the names of the absent and sick men; to search after the first, and conduct the latter to the Hospital, to be examined by the Doctor; who is ordered to receive and enter the names of none without just cause; nor entertain any longer than the nature of the Disorder requires: But immediately upon the cause ceasing which brought them there, to return their names to the Adjutant or Sergeant-Major, to be ordered to their Work. It is further Ordered, when any person under cloak of sickness, lameness, &c. is discovered in the deceit by the Surgeon; that he shall be immediately reconducted to the Fort, and delivered to the Officer of the Day, who is expressly ordered to give him in the face of all the men, 50 lashes with a cat-and-nine-tails; and set him to work again. This he is also to do with the men who delay to appear at roll-calling, without sufficient excuse, or who shall be idle while present.

The Sergeant or Corporal of the Guard is to make his report to the Officer of the Day; who is to report that and all Occurences, which happen in his tour of Duty, to the Colonel in writing; in which and in all the foregoing particulars, it is expected that he and the parties concerned will

pay the strictest observation to it. It is also expected the Officers will see the greatest punctuality observed, in following the Orders for preventing the men from buying any liquors from any Houses but those appointed. And it is hereby declared, that if any Soldier detects another in committing this crime, he shall upon proof thereof, receive 5/ from such Soldier's pay, and the Colonels thanks for his good Behaviour: And as precautions will confine the Custom to the aforesaid places; it is expected they will sell only a moderate quantity to each man per day, and that at reasonable rates; as great complaints have been made of the demands for Liquor.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN

Winchester, September 6, 1756.

Sir: Yours of the 17th & 23d August I received. Mr. Boyd is just returned from Williamsburg, settling his accompts and getting a supply of cash. He will be with you to pay you off.

I am in hopes our men for the future will be better satisfied, as the Committee have allowed them 8 *d* per day and their clothes without any stoppages or deductions. The Governor expects this encouragement will engage the Rangers to enlist.

I wrote him about Fort Cumberland being put down; but he says, as it is a King's fort he cannot venture to abandon it, without further orders from a higher power. He says, Lord Loudoun will be at Williamsburg about the 20th November, and then the affair may be properly represented to him. He has however sent me orders to draw from thence a sufficient quantity of stores for this and the other forts, and I have accordingly sent wagons to be loaded with ammunition, &c. for that purpose.

The Governor informs me too, that he just received an express from Major Lewis, acquainting him that he might expect 150 Cherokees to be at this place in a fortnight; that the Catawba King was gone to South Carolina, and had engaged to send 50 warriors to our assistance, on his return from thence. This will be a considerable help to us, as we shall be able to carry the war into their own country, and use them in the same manner they have us for 12 months past. He adds, that the Catawbas and Cherokees are very firmly attached to our interest, and will still furnish us with more assistance when the fort in that country is completed. 'T is already in great forwardness. I have wrote to Captain Waggener of this, and ordered him to keep up a correspondence with yours and the other



forts, that you may hear from each other every week. I beg you will see to have every man at the fort supplied with a powder-horn and shot-bag.

The Governor has sued Hedgman for scandal

and has ordered Lieutenant Hall to attend the General Court, the 14th of October, as an evidence. Acquaint Mr. Hall of this, and send him down. I have got orders from the Governor to enlist servants, the masters to be paid a reasonable price upon the first purchase, deducting for the time they have served. You will observe this, if any should fall in with you. Complaint has been made that the officers and soldiers upon party, take up the strays they find in the woods. Let these practices be discouraged. Ensign Roy had my promise to be appointed to my company, as it is the company he before belonged to, in case my brother did not accept, and *he* has declined it. I desire you will send Mr. Roy down immediately to this place. I have received no monthly returns, which I expected regularly, besides *weekly* ones.

Let all your leisure hours be employed in disciplining the men; for as Lord Loudoun is to be here, and will probably see them, I would willingly have them make the best appearance possible.

The wagons must be despatched as soon as possible, loaded with powder chiefly, the rest with grenades, musket-ball and a quantity of flints, with some 12 lb. & 4 lb. grape-shot.

The powder is the must material, so let the greater proportion of that be sent. The men returned by the officers above-mentioned, at this place, are employed on the public works, but they must still continue them on their rolls and returns, and shall have them returned to their companies, as soon as they have done here, if they belong properly to them.

Waters and Burrass behaved extremely ill when they were sent down last. If I could lay my hands on them, I would try the effect of 1000 lashes on the former, and whether a general court-martial would not condemn the latter to a life eternal] I shall not at this time enumerate the different kinds of charges laid to both, but desire you will enquire minutely of Mr. Burrass what he did with the *mare* he brought from Fort Cumberland. She was a creature belonging to the heirs of Theobald, caught by Captain Ashby for me. I intended to have had her appraised, and allowed the heirs her full value. She was first carried to Fort Cumberland, then brought down by that villain Burrass, and here sold or swapped, I want to know to whom, that I may get her and do as I first intended. Captain Peachy applied to me for leave to take up strays, &c. and said it was practised by the Marylanders & Pennsylvanians. If the people of those provinces are guilty of unlawful practices, I cannot think it should be any excitement to us to follow their example: for under that pretence of getting strays in the mountains, is carried on a scene of the greatest iniquity that can be imagined. The horses on

Pattersons Creek, South Branch, and other of our deserted settlements hitherwards, are taken up, sold and made away with, to the infinite detriment and oppression of the people who complain of these grievances in the most sensible manner, and urge that they are more oppressed by their own people, than by the

enemy. Were there a limitation given, the officers might, but the soldiers would not observe any, and all strays whatever got, would be said to come within limited bounds. However, if you think you can put the garrison of Fort Cumberland under proper restraints in this particular, I would rather that they be benefited by any advantages of this kind than the enemy, or those who have no pretence should take them off. Therefore suffer no horses to be deemed strays, or taken up as such, which run anywhere below the Flats, either on the Virginia or Maryland side; and if any are caught above, if it is not known to whom they belong, let them be appraised by indifferent officers, upon their honor; and the valuation, with the marks and brand, be registered in a book for that purpose. Then let the person who takes such horses up, and claims them by this right, deliver to the owner, if any should come, the valuation, if such horses should be sold, or in his use and service, or else to deliver up the horse. But if the horse should die, be killed, or stray away from the Fort, in that case the person who takes him up, not to be answerable for the horse or valuation. No person tho' is under any pretence to take up with a view of keeping and detaining as his property, horses where the owner is known. I will by no means consent that any horses below the Flats shall be taken upon the above terms, lest the property of the people be affected, when they may have better chances of securing their own. In the above I have given you my sentiments, which you may in a court of officers put under proper articles and heads, and made publick

to, and strictly practised in the garrison, under very severe penalties on officers, and heavy corporal punishments on the soldiers.

One thing more I think necessary, before any officer or soldier can pretend to lay just claim under the aforesaid articles: that is, to advertise in the nearest publick places in Maryland and Virginia, such as Winchester & Frederick-Town, any horses so taken, that the real owners upon procuring attested proof, may receive their creatures by coming or sending for them. You will receive herewith a cask of shoes, containing 14 dozen pairs, which are to be distributed among the needy of the soldiers, taking care that account is kept to whom they are delivered, so that the price may be stopped from their pay, at the usual rates of 7/6 per pair, and let me be immediately advised of their delivery and payment. You will order as strong an escort with the wagons as you can, as far as Pearsalls; and should any of the wagoners want provision, let them be served, ordering your commissary to remit an account of it to the commissary here, that it may be deducted from their wages. I am, etc.

**To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER**

Winchester, September 6, 1756.

Sir: I received yours by Captain

Spotswood. I was obliged to order the waggons down to Alexandria for Salt, as we had none in store here; which no doubt has detained them longer than you expected. Enclosed I return your Size-roll, as it is not agreeable to the Instructions. A particular description of the men was the chief intent of them, and that you have not attempted. I desire you will make it out now, and be very particular in describing every man, and send me two of them per the first opportunity. Inform the Officers, that I expect at the bottom of their weekly and monthly returns, they will mention all the contingencies, and set down the persons names, the day of the month they died, deserted or joined. I can by no means consent to your leaving your command at the time you mention. Things at present are, and I expect will then be so precarious, that your presence will be absolutely necessary. If all is quiet, you may get leave to go down in December, to the Ayer and Terminer Court, when the Committee will meet.

It has been ordered that the several Officers commanding at different posts, should transmit each other all the intelligence they can receive; so that they might hear from every Fort at least one a week. Colonel Stephens complains of not hearing from you on the Branch. I would have you keep open the communication, and observe these Orders. I have received Orders from the Governor (in consequence of an Act of Parliament) to instruct all the Officers to enlist Servants. I would have you, and the other Officers under your command, observe this;

acquaint them all with it, and further, that it is the determination of the Governor and Committee to reduce all the Officers who do not immediately complete their companies. The Owners of the Servants will be paid by the Governor a reasonable allowance for them; reckoning what they cost, and deducting for the time they have served.

I desire you will take care to have each man of your command furnished with powder-horns and shot-bags. Let the Officers know I shall look to them if this Order is neglected. I desire the practise (too much used) of taking up strays in the Woods, may be discouraged. Let all the Officers and Soldiers know this. Colonel Vanmeter tells me, there are many of the countrys cattle on New-Creek; when the proper season comes for Salting them, I desire you will have them collected. If you could hire the Country people for this Job, it would be best. I have had several complaints from the people

that the Soldiers plunder and rob their Gardens, and destroy their Fowls, and every thing they can lay their hands on. Pray endeavour to stop these proceedings, as they occasion the Officers to be much reflected on. I have yet received no monthly returns of the Troops on the Branch. I expect these to be regularly sent me, as well as the weekly ones.

Instruct the Officers at all leisure hours to keep their men constantly to their exercise. For as Lord Loudoun is to be here as soon as the Campaign is over, and will review the Regiment;

I would (as I am sure every Officer would) be willing they should make the best appearance. If you think you have not a sufficient quantity of ammunition at the Fort under your command, to withstand an attack; you must write to Captain McKenzie to keep as much for you out of that which will be sent from Fort Cumberland. There are many things in which you desire my directions, which at this distance I can not possibly be a judge of. In these affairs I had always rather you would consult your Officers, than delay the time until you consult me. I doubt not your stedfast design to promote the publick interest; and shall always concur in opinion with you and your Officers in every thing. Colonel Vanmeter in the execution of his office, will have much trouble; and will necessarily need advice often. I would also have you to consult your Officers in any affairs in his way, in which he may desire your assistance. Colonel Vanmeter is ordered to lay in provisions only until the 1st. April; that in case no Expedition is carried on over the mountains, nothing may be lost. I would have you observe this, lest any superfluous stock be laid in, or any measures taken contrary to the present intention. I am &c.

#### **To CAPTAIN DAVID BELL**

Winchester, September 6, 1756.

Sir: I received yours of the 15th. August; which I have answered before I received yours of the 25th. I am sorry the Rangers seem to dislike the Service so much, but am still in hopes, the encouragement given by the committee will have some weight with them. They have allowed our Soldiers 8d. per day, without deductions for clothes or Surgeon: A General Hospital is established for their reception in case of accidents. The Clothes which are now given them, besides the 8d. per day, will be as good as any Soldiers in Europe. All these advantages they may enjoy, if they will only embrace this opportunity of enlisting. However, rather suffer them to remain Rangers, than use any harsh methods with them. Barracks ought to be built before the cold weather sets in; and as they must be without the Fort, I think it would be best to build them under the Hill, tho' in such a manner as to lie under the immediate command of the fort, and may be closed in a short warning. I desire you will have all your command provided with powder-horns and shot-bags; and let them employ

all their leisure hours in learning their exercise. I have wrote Captain Waggener to keep a constant correspondence with the other forts, so that you may all hear from each other once a week at least, even tho' you have nothing remarkable to transmit.

The Governor has sent me Orders to enlist Servants: if any should come your way, you will

observe this order. If you should want any tools for building Barracks, &c. you must draw on Captain Waggener for them. Several complaints have been made of the Officers and Soldiers taking up strays they find in the woods, and making use of them. I desire this practice may be discouraged. I ought to have received the monthly return from your Garrison before this. If you think you have not a sufficient quantity of ammunition in your fort to withstand an attack, you must stop what will be really necessary, from the Waggons as they come down; and as they go up, I desire you may reinforce Captain McKenzies party as much as you can.

Discontinue in your future returns of your Company, those men carried by Ensign Fleming to Captain Hogg: as it makes a double and irregular accompt. I am &c.

## **To ROBERT DINWIDDIE**

Winchester, September 8, 1756.

Honble. Sir: I received your favours of the 19th,

20th, and 21st ultimo, and wrote immediately to the commanding officers of the counties of Prince William, Culpeper, and Fairfax, to march their drafts to this place. There are none of them yet arrived, nor do I know whether they are made.

Your Honor's letter of the 19th mentions that I may enlist servants agreeable to the act of Parliament; but as I have not yet seen *that*, am at a loss how to proceed, until I receive your further orders or a copy of the act.<sup>8</sup> It will occasion great murmuring and discontent to the masters, if they are not paid immediately for their servants; so I hope your Honor will order them to make application to you for the money. When these points are settled, and I have received your Honor's farther orders, I shall send out some officers to recruit. It is the best, most expeditious, nay, only method, I know of *now* to recruit the forces, as I doubt not we shall meet with as good success as our neighborhood. And I am credibly informed, an officer of the regulars enlisted 30 in one day in Maryland. I shall in the meantime recruit all that offer, to prevent their leaving the Colony, but shall be glad of farther instructions. A copy of the *act* I ought to have above all things. The men are much

satisfied with the augmentation of their pay, but nothing will prevent their desertion while they are kindly received and entertained thro' the Colony, and even under the eye of the civil magistrate. Perhaps a proclamation of pardon to all who would surrender themselves and return to their duty might be of service. Those delivered to the

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8. The governor had merely copied the words from one of Washington's letters, and was ignorant of any act of Parliament authorizing the enlistment of servants. When the general assembly met towards the end of September the governor stated that he had been "ordered to recommend" a proper provision for paying the masters of servants as should enlist, and the assembly so provided. — *Ford*.

constables are always suffered to escape, and no notice taken of it. All the necessities I can get in the Colony, the men do not want for; but others indispensably necessary cannot be had. We are in great want of drums. I got one from Colonel Randolph. We have got no conveniences to mend old drums, tho' we do the best with what we have, which I believe is scarcely more than four very bad ones to the whole regiment; and we have drummers for all the companies learning.

I shall be down at the time your Honor directs to wait upon the Earl of Loudoun. I am in hopes they can do without me in Napp's affair. I have ordered Lieutenant Hall down to the day you appointed.<sup>9</sup> The Quakers still remain here, and shall until the other drafts are discharged. Thro' the means of their officers chiefly, I believe, the Rangers are quite adverse to enlisting into the regiment. Cockes tells them they are obliged to serve no longer than he commands them, and it was upon these terms they say, they enlisted, and that they will serve if they can continue under the command of their own Captains. So they must be discharged, as the fund is exhausted. They are acquainted with the late encouragement, but nothing will engage them to enlist. I should be glad of express orders in this affair. It may be of service in engaging the Tusks to assist us, if the Nottaways are paid; and I refer them to your Honor for a consideration. The Indians are a very covetous people, and expect to be well rewarded for the least service.

I am afraid military threats will

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9. "I desire you will order Lieut. Hall down here till the 14th of Octr., to be evidence against Mr. Hedgeman, who has treated my character in a villainous manner and with great injustice, and I am determined to make an example of him."— *Dinwiddie to Washington*, Aug. 19, 1756. This letter is printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 1, p. 345.

not deter the Pennsylvanian butchers from driving away the cattle. I would have been glad to have received particular directions concerning the provisions, as to the quantity, and where it must be

deposited. I fear it is scarcely practicable to get Indians to go *now* to the Twightwees; I doubt not it would be of service, but how it is to be effected I know not, as we have no Indians in our assistance, but those expected from the Southward. People here in general are very selfish; every person expects forces at his own door, and is angry to see them at his neighbours. I imagine they are much of the same stamp in Augusta.

I wish the new commission for this county may have the intended effect. The number of tippling houses kept here is a great grievance.

All the efforts which have been made here to raise the militia have proved ineffectual.

War having been proclaimed here and at Fort Cumberland, and the guns from Rock Creek brought up some time ago, Ensign Fleming, in Captain Hogg's absence, will be wanted at his post. But your Honor will be pleased to do as you like in the affair. I am glad the Cherokees have determined to come to our assistance, and to hear of the firm attachment of them and the Catawbias to our interest. They will be of particular service more than twice their number of white men. When they arrive, which I pray may be *soon*, we may deal with the French in their own way; and, by visiting their country, will keep their Indians at home. I sent off

expresses to enquire for fuzees for them. Have not yet heard from Colonel Mason. In Fredericksburg, I am informed, there are about 29. Mr. Hunter of that place informs me that Mr. George Braxton has at least 500 very good, light and fit for Indians. I shall send immediately to Fort Cumberland for a sufficient quantity of the stores. Our men are very much harassed in endeavoring to protect the frontiers, which the great extent of territory renders impossible to be done properly with our small numbers. But we have been happy in being tolerably peaceable and holding our own of late, while Maryland and Pennsylvania fly in the utmost consternation. The frontiers of Maryland are abandoned for many miles below the Blue Ridge, as low as Frederick-Town, thro' which place I am credibly informed no less than 350 wagons, transporting the affrighted families, passed in the space of three days. By which means, Potomack River, which is now our frontier, is deserted on the Maryland side 40 miles below Conocgch. and as much in a pallel below Winchester, and is now more than any the theater of bloodshed and cruelty.

Those Indians who are now coming should be shewed all possible *respect*, and the greatest *care* taken of them, as upon them much depends. 'T is a critical time, they are very humoursome, and their assistance very necessary! One false step might not only lose us *that*, but *even* turn them against us. All kinds of necessary goods, &c, should be got for them.



If your Honor does not care to trouble yourself about it, and please to give me orders, and furnish me with money or letters of credit (for our paper money passes to great disadvantage, and the Committee will not agree to provide those necessities as they expect Indian affairs come more properly under your regard) I will get them immediately from Philadelphia, which is the *only* place that I know of that we can possibly be supplied from.

Sometime ago I wrote to your Honor about Jenkins' pay, which you then ordered me to advance. But as the Committee have ordered that £610, which I paid him, should be got back, I thought proper to acquaint your Honor with it, as I must bring it in now as a private charge against your Honor, it being disallowed in my accompt. I have also paid the expresses with the declaration of war and the proclamation concerning La Force, which I shall include in the same accompt, and settle with your Honor at meeting. Your Honor mentions that when the drafts are discharged, the number of officers must be reduced. It is true we have a greater number than is necessary for that of the men, at present; but as it is absolutely necessary to keep the forces, and a larger number than we now have, I think some means should be fallen upon to augment *them*. And altho' the officers have not complied with their promises, I will venture to say they did it as well as any after appointed will do, unless some scheme

is fallen upon, and a better foundation for recruiting. And as the most of our present corps are gentlemen of family, and have now been sometime in the service, I fear we should exchange for the worse, if we aim at a change.

I think it highly necessary some vigorous measures should be taken to engage or compel the deserters to return to their duty. It certainly would be of service were the King's attorneys in the several counties, ordered to prosecute all who harbour them, without respect of persons. The immediate loss we suffer for want of their services is greater than the prejudice they do the *service* in general thro' the country, by asserting falsehoods of the ill-treatment they received from their officers, and the great want of every thing in the regiment except bad usage. This they do, in order to gain the compassion of *credulous* people, who immediately receive them with open arms, listen to their complaints, and industriously propagate them thro' the country, and screen the offenders from justice! There is one Crisp here, a ship-carpenter, who says he was enlisted by your Honor at 2/ per day. He is of no service to us *now*, and I should be glad to know what must be done with him, and who is to pay his wages? For the Committee I know will grudge him 2/ per day, for which we received no equivalent service of any kind.

As it seems uncertain when the Assembly will meet, I think it my indispensable duty to observe to your Honor the bad consequences that may arise from want of proper measures to reinforce the



Regiment, or to keep up a sufficient strength for the protection of the frontiers, when the drafts are to be discharged in December.<sup>10</sup> The timorous dispositione

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10. The assembly convened September 23. £8,000 were appropriated to raise Virginia's proportion of the Royal American Regiment. (See Hening's *Statutes at Large*, vol. 7, p. 61.)

of the inhabitants occasions much confusion and trouble; and constantly are for flying off on the least noise or report of danger. And if they are lessened in their notions of security by a reduction of our forces, what must *then* be the event?

The only body of inhabitants is now, and has for some time past been settled on the South Branch; and it is with the greatest difficulty they can be prevailed upon to stay. Should they once give way, we shall not have a soul betwixt this and Fort Du Quesne, except what few soldiers are contained in the little forts on Pattersons Creek.

At present, affairs are still and peaceable, but how long they will remain so is uncertain. The French, flushed with so much success in all their attempts hitherto, may have some grand scheme in view, and surprize us, as in that most unlucky affair of Oswego, which I heartily wish may be yet groundless.

These letters enclosed will show your Honor what obstacles we meet with in enlisting servants; and as I expect opposition will be made in every place I send to recruit at, I beg your Honor would be peremptory and particular in your instructions relative to this affair, both as to masters and magistrates.

Mr. Jones is just come to town from Augusta, who informs me no account of the Cherokees is yet known of in that county; so that we need not look for them these two or three weeks yet.